Making it local: Contextuating programming on commercial free-to-air television in Australia.

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ABSTRACT

This study investigates how global, national and local identities are articulated in television practices. Specifically, I focus my analysis on the non-program material of television and argue that this material participates in the articulation of national identities that are simultaneously positioned within regional spaces and a global television sphere. That is, viewers are positioned as located in particular places that are situated interdependently within a national television system and culture that operates in a global television environment.

In order to grapple with the complexity of the ways in which non-program material locates and positions viewers, I coin the term "contextuating programming" and in my study I analyse a number of instances of Australian television to examine how contextuating programming operates in different programming contexts and in different broadcasting regions of Australia. I analyse a segment of contextuating programming during a television program and also a segment from the end of one program to the beginning of another and draw conclusions about how contextuating programming functions differently in these environments. I also examine regional "fillers" to determine how they function in local identity-building. My major analysis of contextuating programming is of the free-to-air broadcasts of the Olympic Games in 2000 (Sydney) and 2004 (Athens) when simultaneous broadcasting across Australia of the global media event revealed much about how the Australian television system positions viewers as having global, national and local identities.

The contextuating programming of the commercial free-to-air television system in Australia speaks of the specificities of that system, particularly the relationships between network, affiliate and regional stations, and the relationships between imported and locally produced programming. My research concludes that while television promotes itself as being a global force, television practices are intricately and powerfully tied to specific notions of local and national identity. Finally, I identify areas where research into practices similar to contextuating programming would further expand our understanding of the intricacies between local, regional, national and global practices and identities.

CHAPTER 1: ARE YOU TALKING TO ME?

"I love to watch things on TV."
Lou Reed, *Satellite of Love*, 1972.

I was in Paris on Saturday August 31, 1997 but I didn't know about her death. It was a hot summer night and in the apartment above us someone was playing an accordion. I was staying with friends who had recently moved to Paris from Sydney and we tried to stay cool and distracted by playing cards, drinking, and watching bad French variety TV. We were up and the TV was on when the car in which Diana, Princess of Wales was traveling hit the pole and we were still watching when she was taken to hospital. But we didn't know this was happening because absolutely nothing came on TV about it.

I woke Sunday morning and phoned my elderly and, at the time, unwell parents in Australia. Dad said: "I suppose you've rung to tell us about Di". Me (panicking): "Who died?" Dad: "Di died". Relieved that no one I knew had died but fearing an outbreak of Abbott and Costello routines, I struggled to talk him through it step by step. It took a long time. He told me she'd died in a tunnel and I thought he meant "The Chunnel" between England and France. I couldn't work out why she'd be in The Chunnel. I thought she'd been shot and I couldn't work out by whom. There were reports that she was alive when the first photographers arrived and in that sense I guess she had been shot. But the biggest news was that TV in Australia had crossed to feeds from BBC, CNN and SkyTV. I couldn't remember anything like that happening since Apollo 11 landed on the moon and we were sent home from school to watch the broadcast. I barked at my friends to turn on the TV, thinking we'd find something there. It took us a while to find anything relevant. One station was broadcasting an interview with Diana so she looked alive to me and, because almost everything is dubbed on French television, she seemed to be speaking French.

It was pretty clear French television wasn't going to broadcast feeds from anywhere, had no crew at the scene and had no footage. So we watched a suntanned newsreader in a studio repeating the facts as he understood them. The announcement that she had died at Pont de l'Alma brought gasps from the room. What a great spot and how

convenient for TV. A pan across the Seine would reveal the Eiffel Tower in the background. More gasps as we were told that was the end of the special broadcast and there'd be no more until the 8:00 p.m. news. We tried to use the internet but it seemed to have collapsed under the pressure, so we did something I had never done before. We turned on the short-wave radio and searched for the BBC World Service. We looked at the radio for a while and heard a lot of trembling British voices making this a world event. When the radio started repeating things we went out. We took a train to a chateau just out of Paris and acted like tourists but our hearts weren't in it. We considered going to the hospital but we couldn't exactly understand why we'd even suggested it. We were confused and sad and shocked and didn't really know why. We had lots of questions that needed answering and there weren't a lot of people on French television asking them. There were no updates, no continuous broadcasts, and no special editions of newspapers. I felt very far away from Australia and starved of information. This wasn't how things would have been back home.

French television eventually gave us more information and extended their news hour, still without crossing to the BBC or CNN. There was no mention of Australia other than the BBC World Service on the radio saying that messages of grief came in from "as far away as Indonesia, New Zealand and Australia". There was very little live television coverage of anything. We were shown the coffin at the airport and there were lots of shots of the Ritz Hotel and a few shots of people putting flowers on the pylon until the police blocked entrances down to the tunnel.

Days later and I still felt sad in a funny kind of way. I found myself wanting to go to the flame at Pont de l'Alma by way of the English language bookshops, which were filled with accents I understood and empty racks where the imported Sunday papers had been and gone. I still felt I had no real information. And then we wandered to the bridge where the event became gut-wrenchingly real. I had previously thought that the people going to the site and placing flowers at the pole were ghouls, but I now found myself strangely comforted by being there. I also felt a bit ill knowing that not that long ago real people had really died down there and were photographed while they were dying and when they were dead. We spent hours reading people's notes to Di, looking at the flowers, and overhearing

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conversations in lots of different languages. I was entranced by the Fox Network reporters who were sending picturesque live feeds every 15 minutes and it was while watching and listening to them that I pieced together bits of information. Here I heard about the blood alcohol level of the driver. One news announcer's report said that the paparazzi were more determined than usual because they were positive there was going to be an engagement announcement on Sunday. Newspapers in Paris were running the line that Di and Dodi were engaged and the ring was in the car. I took photos of my visit to the crash site, mainly of reporters.

Much of the extended news on French television was taken up discussing the paparazzi. The analysis was full of chats with press agencies and discussions about intrusion and fame. I saw an interview with actors Sandra Bonnaire and William Hurt who are married and live in Paris. It was surreal to hear William Hurt answer questions about fame in really good French.

I still don't know why this event and its coverage affected me, nor am I sure exactly how. I didn't expect to feel anything for someone I didn't know. I rarely saw footage of Diana walking and talking and magazine images of her—with their stillness—made her almost already dead to me. When she really died I was shocked and moved by her mortality. There would be no more new images. It was particularly sad because having been publicly (over) exposed for so long, it seems almost scripted that Diana would die so publicly. She would have known she was being photographed after the accident. The "International Herald Tribune" wrote that the bodyguard had his lips and tongue ripped out on impact. The story we were all waiting to hear would have to be written down. A day later the same paper published a note saying that the details of his facial injuries were in fact not known and that the earlier report was rumour only. My friend at BBC-TV in London sent me the British Sunday papers that confirmed we were definitely experiencing a different version of events in Paris. I can't forget the feelings of disassociation I had, feeling so foreign and scrambling for television's reassurances of familiarity. But in Paris that week, the reassurances from television that I had been familiar with in Australia did

not come. Why did I feel like the television I was watching was talking to someone else? Where was my TV?

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    The minimal television coverage in France of what I thought would be a global media event surprised and frustrated me, particularly as I was in the city in which the accident took place. Compounding my frustration was the news that while I was searching for coverage on French television, friends in Australia were telling me that Australian television was broadcasting uninterrupted live feeds of British television coverage. French television gradually, and reluctantly it seemed, increased its coverage and by the end of the week an estimated 2.5 billion viewers worldwide, including in France, watched Diana's funeral. The funeral broadcast on French television included commentary in French and French subtitles of the lyrics to the song that Elton John sang. The different national approaches to television coverage of the week's events suggested to me that perhaps even a global event of this magnitude is played out in complex contestations of space, place, identity and nationality.

    Watching the coverage in France further reinforced the fact that I was not French. It reminded me that my expectations of what television should do were specific to me and my histories. My expectations of television were traces of where I had watched most of my television and where I had been inducted into the practices of the national television system of another place, another nation. The Australian television system was the norm for me, and away from it, in France, I was made acutely aware of just how unique that system is. I do not mean unique as in particularly special, but unique as in peculiarly particular, a specific expression of national culture, just as the French television system is an expression of French national culture.

    I thought I knew something about television. I was a teaching academic in the fields of Communication and Cultural Studies, had designed and taught courses in television studies, and had completed a Masters Degree in textual studies. I had traveled many times before and watched television in other countries and experienced how watching television in different places was different and that I often felt I was becoming a different subject

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while doing so. What I did not expect was how this particular incident would affect me and how angry and frustrated at myself I was for wanting "it" and at French television for not providing "it". What that "it" was, is still not exactly clear, however it had something to do with feeling familiar and comfortable with the rhythms of television, with its patterns of programming (what is on) and scheduling (how and when what is on is presented). Watching French television at this particular time reinforced for me that I was in a foreign place, that of French television culture.

I was angered and confronted by how much I wanted French television to do what I thought television at home in Australia would have done. I wanted live crosses and international feeds and lots of coverage and local presenters talking seriously, even if that was laughable. I wanted the event to be given televisual magnitude. But that wasn't going to happen in France and the fact that it was not, and the fact that I wanted it to, made me feel more non-French, and not at home, than any of the other ways that I had already felt non-French. I was beginning to feel comfortable with the ways I did not fit in in Paris. I was not understood when I went shopping even when I was trying my best to speak the local language. I did not fit in physically, standing out as non-French wherever I went. That I did not fit in televisually was just another way in which the local practices reminded me that I was not at home. But the big difference between not being understood when shopping and not feeling comfortable when watching television was in who I was being addressed as in these practices. Shopkeepers, when correcting my French or, worse, speaking to me in English after I had tried to converse in French, were definitely addressing me as foreign. Their responses confirmed that I was not a local French person and I was made aware of how much I was not French, even when I tried to take on their language.

While I stood out like a sore thumb in the physical world, all different and obviously so, in the televisual world, however, my difference was ignored. Television was talking to me as if I was a local—a Parisian. My frustrations at not getting what I wanted when watching television were precisely because I was being constructed as a particular kind of French person located in a particular geographic place, the French capital of Paris.

French television was addressing me as being home in France, as being French, and being a French television viewer, living daily life in Paris.

While watching the French version of the global event I saw that television was suggesting relationships between places and viewers. The scheduling of the coverage, the amount of coverage, where it came from, and how it was presented, all gave insight as to what it is to be French. French television talked to me as if I was a French person, located in Paris, practised at watching local French television, and as if these practices were familiar to me. The television coverage spoke of relationships between France and England, between France and the rest of the world, between France and Australia. Part of my frustration was that French television—speaking from a French position and addressing all viewers as being French—was therefore addressing me as both familiar and complicit with these relationships. Further, these televisual practices were also making the Diana event French, by talking over it, by subtitling it, and by programming it into French television culture.

Television promotes itself as being a global force, and in many ways it is, but observing the Diana coverage in Paris made me acutely aware of just how intricately and powerfully television practices are locally and nationally specific and tied to notions of local and national identity. French television, with its sedate and occasional locally produced television updates, was operating quite differently to Australian television, which had gone global in its coverage by utilising global resources with feeds from UK television. In doing so, it was positioning viewers in Australia as participants in a multi-national, if not global, television event. Crossing to "live" broadcasting from other nations' television brings with it a certain excitement and creates the impression that everyone on the planet is watching the same thing at the same time as a shared global community is suggested. Yet the Australian television practice of switching programming from locally produced reporting to satellite feeds from UK and USA broadcasters is rarely, if ever, used by French television. The experience of watching the way that French television in Paris covered the Diana event, and the ways in which I was addressed as being familiar with this television system, made me consider the ways in which the Australian television system was different

and made me question how global, national and local cultures are articulated in television practices.

The difference in the ways in which television in two different countries, Australia and France, represented a media event of this kind raised a number of questions for me. How exactly did Australian television operate? Did it operate as a uniformly national system? Were there features of Australian television that also addressed viewers as familiar with the practices of television, as being local to the system, and therefore also as at home? And did this only happen in events on the scale of Diana's death?

In this thesis, I investigate the televisual practices of making viewers and television programs local to specific locations and addressing viewers and positioning them as being local and therefore "at home" watching television programs on their local television channels. In particular I investigate the following questions:

- What are the current features of the Australian television system and what is its history?
- What are the features of Australian television programming that address viewers as locals, and therefore also as at home?
- How do these features operate in relation to the concept of the Australian nation, and how are they implicated in the construction and representation of an Australian television broadcast nation?
- When do these features operate? Are they only to be found during global television events or are they also present elsewhere in television? Do they change the nature of what a program is, and if so, how?
- What do the specific features of television that address viewers as locals look like and how do they function?
- What does "local" mean when called at from television? To what do "local" and "home" refer in television's address to viewers?

In order to explore these questions I begin my study by describing the Australian television context—its programming features and history—because the national television

system is one of the contexts in which television viewers are inscribed. I firstly summarise the current features and programming trends of television broadcasting in Australia before summarising the history of the Australian television system. I rely on Cunningham's (1997, 2000) history of Australian television and I suggest what is missing from that approach. I then focus my analysis on the non-program material of television because, in a televisual sphere where programs are circulated internationally, it is this material that specifically positions viewers as being located in specific locations and it is in the non-program material that location differences and similarities, and the connections between locations are articulated.

In order to grapple with the complexity of the ways in which non-program material articulates a variety of locations and positions for viewers I coin the term "contextuating programming". By this I am referring to all non-program material, all of which speaks of various broadcast contexts: the context of the national broadcasting system in which it operates; the context of network and station relationships within which non-program material is broadcast; and the spatial, temporal and geographical context in which it is broadcast. In order to enquire into the operation of contextuating programming I analyse a number of instances of Australian television to examine how contextuating programming operates in different programming contexts and in different broadcasting regions of Australia. Because I am arguing that it is the non-program material that addresses viewers in particular ways in relation to identity, I firstly analyse a segment of television programming during a program to draw some conclusions about how contextuating programming operates in that environment. I then analyse a segment of television from the end of one program to the beginning of another and draw some conclusions about how contextuating programming functions differently in this environment. I also examine the "fillers" for the regional television network Ten Capital as they appear in Wollongong, one of the cities within Ten Capital's "reach". My major analysis of contextuating programming is of the free-to-air broadcasts of the Olympic Games in Sydney (2000) and Athens (2004) when simultaneous broadcasting across Australia of the global media event revealed much about how the Australian television system positions viewers as having global, national and local identities.

Thesis Overview

In Chapter 1, I have introduced the focus of my research and outlined the problematics I investigate in this project. Chapter 2 describes the features of the Australian television system, which provides the context for my analysis of contextuating programming. In Chapter 3, I describe the features and functions of contextuating programming in more detail, and give examples of how contextuating programming operates differently within programs and in between programs in its positioning of viewers. I continue my analysis of contextuating programming in Chapter 4, where I analyse the Australian commercial free-to-air coverage of the "summer" Olympic Games of 2000 (Sydney) and 2004 (Athens). Specifically, I investigate the ways in which contextuating programming works as nation-building material while also constructing local communities and identities. In Chapter 5, I discuss possible futures for the changing television/media environment and how they might impact on the features and functions of contextuating programming. In Chapter 6, I take up some of the key issues the study raises and consider the implications of the project.

CHAPTER 2: THE AUSTRALIAN TELEVISION SYSTEM

"It was just a miracle. That's why we had it."
My mum talking about buying our first television set in 1959.

My parents bought their first television set in the first year of transmission in Adelaide in 1959 yet were already practised television viewers having hired a set to watch test transmissions. In addition, my family would go to Shipp Bros on the corner of our street, which is where the neighbourhood gathered to watch TV before they bought their own sets. What was remarkable was that Shipp Bros was not a retail store but a garage/service station. My mum told me that Mr Shipp would let anybody come and watch his set "coz he believed in the miracle too". My family can still recall the brands—the Healing, the AWA, the Kreisler—in addition to the programs. I can remember watching "The Black and White Minstrel Show" on a rented set because our own set was being serviced. The novelty of having a rented set was heightened by the fact that it was a "portable" and so we watched in our backyard on a hot summer's evening. The pleasure of watching television outside in the dark on a warm night has remained with me.

My parents were always quick to upgrade their television sets, and we were one of the first families I knew to have a colour set, and one of the first to own a VCR and—the hugest novelty of all at the time—join a video library. Television sets and VCRs were handed down in our family like heirlooms and a few TVs are still operating in various family members' homes as second or third sets. Mum and Dad are at home by themselves now, but still manage to have three television sets and three VCRs operating in their house. They have been pay TV subscribers for years, have upgraded to Foxtel digital and bought a device that allows them to transmit the pay TV signal to all televisions in the house.

My history of television calls upon intense memoried experiences of being in particular places at particular times—outdoors at night in summery Adelaide, watching "Countdown" in colour on Sunday evenings in the "patio", watching "Roger Ramjet" on the Healing while my Dad cooked "toastie-toasties" for tea. My history is also my memory

and my "context" and I realise that the history of Australian television is enacted through individuals' memories of their histories of television as lived in localised, personalised contexts.

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Television operates within a global environment and global and international connections between television owners and producers are such that resources can be shared between television systems operating in different countries. Moreover, worldwide communities of program viewers and fans can be identified, and, with appropriate resources, can identify and communicate with each other. However, the fact that the Diana event was represented differently in television systems of different countries destabilises the concept of globalisation in which there is "the emergence of the sense that the world is a single place" (Featherstone, 1993, p. 171). Television, as a global industry, participates in the global flow of capital (Appadurai, 1990), a multi-dimensional set of fluid landscapes (ethnoscapes, mediascapes, technoscapes, finanscapes and ideoscapes), which are "navigated by agents who both experience and constitute larger formations" (Appadurai, 1990, p. 296). Appadurai (1990, pp. 296-297) suggests the landscapes form "the building blocks" of "imagined worlds", an extended notion of Anderson's (1983) imagined communities.

My study suggests that television, specifically through its contextuating programming, participates in the construction of a national identity, and often promotes that identity as one that is located within specific geographic nation borders, while also positioning viewers as being located within specific locations within those borders. That is, television positions viewers as being in particular places, such that the sense of the world is not that it is a single place, but that the immediate broadcast environment is constructed as an "imagined local world". Because a number of "local worlds" exist in any nation's television system, the "imagined world" constructed by television is one in which a range of local worlds and cultures are situated interdependently within a national television system and culture, operating in a global television environment.

Definitions

Throughout my study I refer to concepts of the local, regional, national, international and the global. These concepts are interdependent and co-exist within my discussion of contextuating programming, and are not, as might be presumed, functioning as oppositions to each other. All television systems exist simultaneously as local, regional, national, international and global systems and instances of production, distribution and reception might, or might not, foreground one or some of these interdependent "identities" more than others. Therefore, the terminology used to describe these interdependent identities needs some clarification. Hartley (1992b) writes that "the local" is a contradictory term; it is both vital and defunct" (p. 13), adding that "local" in an Australian context "is irreducibly unique while at the same time it is unusually open to the international flow of television and other cultural tides" (p. 13). O'Regan (1993a) likens his usage of the term "local" to that of geographers describing geographic scales, and I use the term in a similar way. For O'Regan (1993a):

> The local is used to designate the *geographically* [author's italics] local. Thus, the local means Adelaide news broadcasters with Adelaide-based news readers, the local service area of Sydney for its terrestrial broadcast signal, Melbourne advertisers targetting a Melbourne television audience and so on. (p. xxi)

I also use the term "local" to describe the local experience of watching television, by which I mean the usual and familiar practices of television that occur within particular "local" contexts, that allow one to experience oneself as being a local within those contexts. My "local" experience of watching television news programs for example, living in Canberra, is of watching both locally produced news services (those produced by Canberrans in Canberra for Canberra regional stations) and news services produced in Sydney for Sydney audiences that are broadcast to viewers located in Canberra as part of Canberra television's scheduling practices. These viewing practices take place within a nationally specific "local-space", which is the unique broadcasting context that comprises the Australian television system, practices and culture, and which positions television viewers in Australia as a national community, and as being locals within that community.

An examination of identity is also one of geographies, and of time and space (Appadurai, 1990; de Certeau, 1984; Harvey, 1989; Lash & Urry, 1994; Lefebvre, 1974/1993). My study extends the concept of "local" to include additional spatial and temporal geographies of location related to the television network structure within the Australian television system. I use the term "network-space" to describe the inter-relational space that is comprised of communities of stations, advertisers and viewers within a television network operating and relationally (Ellis, 2000; Harvey, 1989) situated within a national television system. For example, the Nine Network is both an imagined space and also a series of interrelated programming, scheduling, economic, advertising and promotional practices and arrangements—some of which are network driven, others station-specific—articulated by a range of stations within the Australian television system, not all of which are identified as "Channel Nine". The stations within a network-space are often located in both regional and metropolitan locations, and while some stations are owned by the same company, others within the network are independently-owned. However, stations in a network-space operate within an arrangement whereby they share some or most network programming, and part of their branding and identity will be of the network-space, and shared across the stations within the network-space.

Within a network-space there are station-spaces, which are comprised of the particular practices and communities of a particular station located in a specific broadcast region, relationally situated to a national television network, national audience, and national and international advertisers. The station-space is simultaneously located within a context of businesses and community activities locally situated within the specific broadcast region of the station.

In my study, I use the term "regional" in much the same way as O'Regan (1993a) does:

> The "regional" refers to intermediate geographical scales larger than the local but smaller than the national—the scale of the different Australian states or

non-metropolitan country areas (such as when the television industry talks of the "regional stations" as opposed to the "metropolitan stations"). (p. xxi)

Further, "there are the different regional audience identities as, for example, Tasmanians or non-metropolitan Australians" (O'Regan, 1993a, p. xxi). In my analysis, the regional and the local often intersect and overlap, as demonstrated by my local experience of watching news services in Canberra. The experience of watching news programs produced in Canberra and Sydney is both a scheduling practice local to Canberra and an experience common to local Canberra television viewers, and, also, a common feature of regional broadcasting in Australia.

Television is a cultural communication technology that is governed at a national level and which participates in an international environment. My use of the terms "national" and "international" replicate O'Regan's (1993a) use of the terms as he describes them:

> The national level refers to Australia-wide programming, networking, advertising, broadcast regulation, audiences and services…. It also refers to audience identities constituted at a national level (as e.g., Australians), and to the Australian public in whose name regulators regulate and broadcasters broadcast.
>
> The international scale involves program and program concept imports, the international program makers for whom Australia is a valuable export market, multinational advertisers, international agreements regulating satellite, copyright and the television trade, and the internationally constituted audiences developed for imported English-language programs (on the ABC, the commercials and SBS-TV) and for imported non-English language programs (especially on SBS-TV).
> (pp. xxi–xxii)

I also use the term "international" to describe the international context in which television is watched and circulated. Contextually, television exists in an international environment

and international communities and identities are offered to viewers by contextuating programming. For example, to be addressed as a Nike consumer by the advertising during the contextuating programming of the Olympic Games is also to participate in the international language of the product and the international community of its consumers and in the international circulation of the advertising that accompanies the product. It is also, in some part, an offer to become a member of an international community (of Nike consumers) if one is not already one, and therefore to have an international identity. It is also an acknowledgement and confirmation of your membership status if you have previously accepted the offer to join. At the same time, the Nike advertisement is also always situated within specific network- and station-spaces in particular geographic locations—Nike advertising on television in Paris, for example—and therefore the international community is also locally inflected and relationally situated.

I use the term "global" to indicate an exchange of programs, identities and goods beyond the local, national and international realms, and where these exchanges are "worldwide". There are practical limitations in using such a term, and I am careful not to use the term "global" when I mean "international". Castells (1996) suggests that:

> While the media have indeed become globally interconnected, and programs and messages circulate in the global network, **we are not living in a global village, but in customized cottages globally produced and locally distributed** [*sic*]. (p. 341)

We are not living in a global village as evidenced by the fact that media, including television, while globally pervasive and similar worldwide, is not the same everywhere. Most countries have their own national television system, by which I mean a television system in which the identifying features of television broadcasting are unique to a specific national context. Moreover, even though there are global similarities across national television systems, and television programs and advertising circulate internationally, no local, regional or national television system is exactly the same as another. Castell's "customized cottages" is a useful way to consider both the individualised experience of

watching television, and the local station re-contextualisation of network-produced programming.

Finally, throughout my study I refer to "viewers" more than "audiences". In describing viewers rather than audiences, I am making a distinction about whom I am imagining as I write. To speak of an audience is to imply a massed group, and I am referring to television viewers who are individuals with complex and multiple identities and subject positions. We are also much more than viewers, and much more than the subject positions we are offered by television. However, when talking about television, and what we do with it and what happens when we watch it, we enter a televisual sphere that determines we become viewers. Advertisers and broadcasters rely on massing viewers together to become audiences because it works for their business to talk in terms of larger numbers. My study speaks of imagined individual viewers who are addressed by the non-program material of television as both individual entities and as members of larger massed communities of program audiences and as potential individual and massed consumers of advertised products.

I also imagine viewers as travellers, who move across the divisions (day-parts) of the broadcast day. Viewers travel across programs and sections of programs, between networks and televisual systems and across national broadcast systems. As they move, viewers negotiate the exchanges with the non-program material of each televisual place. My viewers are not unlike Silverstone's (1994) audiences who are:

> individual, social and cultural entities, and…in Janice Radway's terms, "nomadic". Even as television audiences move in and out of televisual space they are, literally, always present and in the present. Television audiences indeed live in different overlapping but not always overdetermining spaces and times: domestic spaces; national spaces; broadcasting and narrowcasting spaces; biographical times; daily times; scheduled, spontaneous but also socio-geological times; the times of the *longue duree* (see Scannell, 1988). (p. 132)

Braidotti (1994, p. 1) writes of "the notion of 'nomadic subjects', as a suitable theoretical figuration for contemporary subjectivity". She writes:

> Not all nomads are world travelers; some of the greatest trips can take place without physically moving from one's habitat. It is the subversion of set conventions that defines the nomadic state, not the literal act of travelling. (1994, p. 5)

Watching television involves travelling, often without moving, but always across broadcast and program terrains. The "subversion of set conventions" Braidotti describes could apply to the process of the offer, the negotiation, and the acceptance or rejection of identities that takes place when watching the non-program material of television. For Silverstone (1994, p. 132), "the position of the audience in these multiple temporalities and spatialities is crucial" and for me, as viewers traverse the multiple locations of television, it is the non-program material that greets them when they arrive and speaks to them while they are there.

Chapter Overview

In this chapter I provide a general description of the features of the Australian television system. It is important to describe the broadcasting system in which contextuating programming operates because the system both constrains and constructs its features and functions. My description of the Australian television system is of the context in which contextuating programming operates, and the description provides the context for the analysis of contextuating programming I undertake in Chapters 3 and 4. My summary decription of the Australian television system relies on authenticated, and currently circulating writings in the field of Australian television studies, namely the anthologies edited by Cunningham and Turner (1997, 2002) and Turner and Cunningham (2000).

Also in this chapter I provide a brief history of the Australian television system, relying on Cunningham's four phase history (1997, 2000). Histories of Australian television can focus on various aspects of the industry individually and in combination, and academic histories cover a range of television broadcasting features, including, for

example, particular programs (McKee, 2000, 2001), genres and aspects of production (Moran, 1985, 1993; Rowe, 2000), ratings (Jones & Bednall, 1980), production and regulation in an international context (Cunningham & Jacka, 1996a, 1996b; Sinclair, Jacka & Cunningham, 1996) and audiences (Ang, 1996).[1] Further, Moran (1991) states that:

> TV is a complex rather than a simple entity. It includes transmitting and receiving equipment, recording studios, range, programs, publicised schedules, and audience. Depending on which element or set of elements one takes one is likely to come up with quite different starting points for Australian TV. (Quiet Time section, para. 1)

Further, individual television stations and networks have their own histories, and often broadcast specially compiled programs to celebrate their milestones and anniversaries of popular programs and personalities. Channel Ten broadcast *seriously 40* on August 21, 2005 in Canberra, celebrating 40 years of the Ten Network. On September 25, 2005, Channel Nine broadcast *50 years 50 shows*, celebrating 50 years of television, albeit a year early. Station and network annual reports and official websites record versions of histories for public consumption. Sydney's Museum of Contemporary Art curated an exhibition in 1991 of the introduction of television into Australian homes (Corrigan & Watson, 1991). Hartley (1992a) works with some of the photographs submitted by the public for that exhibition, and organises them so as to represent a history of the accommodation of the television set and television programming into Australian domestic life. The histories of specific homes and specific people are an example of the ways in which the history of Australian television is also a history of everyday life in Australia, and descriptive of an Australian context in which a national television culture emerges.

However, the scope of this thesis means that I am unable to include or interrogate the range of television histories and I am limiting my discussion of the history of the Australian television system to this chapter. Further, I am limiting the history of Australian television to those written by Cunningham and published in *The media in Australia:*

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[1] I acknowledge that this is by no means an exhaustive list. Rather, I am indicating the variety and range of work published on Australian television history.

Industries, texts, audiences (Cunningham & Turner, 1997), and in *The Australian TV book* (Turner & Cunningham, 2000). Where the ideas and wording in the two versions are identical or very similar I refer to the more recent version (Cunningham, 2000) and I refer to Cunningham (1997) when it provides additional or different information. Cunningham's history appears in two anthologies of Australian television, and the publication dates of the anthologies, the breadth of coverage contained within them of the Australian television system, and their status as academic textbooks makes Cunningham's work a current, authenticated history of Australian television. In 2002, a revised version of the Cunningham and Turner (1997) textbook was published titled *The media & communications in Australia* (Cunningham & Turner, 2002) and Cunningham's history did not appear in that text. However—and despite some issues I will identify in such an approach—Cunningham's (1997) history remains useful and is welcome in that it provides a summary of "a variety of elements of television culture" (p. 91). Having summarised Cunningham's history I provide some reflections on such a history, including the suggestion that such an approach presents a particular "national" history that might contain some shortcomings, particularly in relation to the articulation of local television histories and contexts within a national television system.

While there are difficulties in describing—and thus fixing—the features and history of a dynamic, constantly changing industry such as television, it is necessary to offer a description of the Australian television context, including its history as it is widely regarded, if only to interrogate such a history for what it does not attempt. As such, the descriptions and interrogations in this chapter too are far from fixed, yet they provide part of the contextual framework within which, in Chapters 3 and 4, I analyse the different ways in which viewers are addressed by the contextuating programming of commercial free-to-air television within the Australian television system.

The Australian Television Broadcasting Context

In Moran's (1985) discussion of Australian television drama he writes:

> Any discussion of the way in which television drama is put together in Australia
> must begin with an account of the specific form of television in this country, its
> structure, institutions and practices. (p. 17)

Any discussion of any feature of a television broadcast system, not just the particular genre of drama that Moran describes, should at least provide a contextual sketch of the television broadcast system in which it occurs. The problem, however, with providing a sketch is that it is only a sketch, and one of the problems with analysing television is that even detailed accounts suffer from the dynamism and complexity of the system they are trying to describe. Even the most recent, up-to-date description risks looking superannuated by the time of its publication. Moran (1985) notes these problems too as he states of his own description of Australian television that, "This broad outline says very little about the configurations of Australian television and says nothing about how they came about" (p. 17). The impossibility of providing an all-encompassing description of the system is evident in any discussion of television, and my thesis will also fail at the task. However, even a general description of some of the features of the system is necessary to support my argument that the contextuating programming of the Australian television system performs the task of making programs and viewers local, by addressing viewers as local viewers connected to a national audience in a global televisual world. The contextuating programming of the commercial free-to-air television system in Australia speaks of the specificities of that system, particularly the relationships between network, affiliate and regional stations, and the relationships between imported and locally produced programming.

A Mixed System

The current Australian television system is a mix of commercial and government channels within the free-to-air system and a variety of pay TV packages delivered through a

range of technologies. Free-to-air television and pay TV are different systems which address their viewers very differently in terms of who they are, where they are watching, and how they watch. This is evident in the contextuating programming of each system and while my analysis deals primarily with commercial free-to-air television, I discuss the different uses of contextuating programming on free-to-air television and pay TV in Chapters 3 and 4.

Broadly, the Australian television system is one in which free-to-air television is still the norm. Viewers have not had to pay for television licenses since they were abolished in 1974 and consequently there is an expectation that television, particularly specific genres and programs, should be available for free. Sports programming on Australian television is one example that demonstrates just how vehemently the right to watch for free can be defended. Anti-siphoning laws exist to prevent certain sporting events from becoming unavailable on free-to-air television:

> The purpose (of the laws) is to ensure events that are considered of national importance are not "siphoned" off by pay TV operators to the detriment of the general viewing public. (ABA, 2005e)

Such a strong commitment to free-to-air television, and its role in representing sporting events (and others) "of national importance" might have accounted in part for the delay in the introduction of pay TV[2] and its slow acceptance in a country known to rapidly adopt new technologies. Figures released in 2004 show that 99% of Australian households have at least one television set, of which 55% have a second set, but only 23% of viewers are pay TV subscribers (Paul Budde Communications as cited in ABA, 2005b).

Within the free-to-air television system, viewers can choose from three commercial national networks: Ten, Nine and Seven, and two networks under Government control: SBS (Special Broadcasting Service) and the ABC (Australian Broadcasting Corporation).

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[2] See Westfield (2000) for account of the delay and final introduction of pay TV.

Most viewers living in metropolitan centres in Australia have access to five free-to-air channels and most regional centres are able to access a version of this selection through regional ABC broadcasting and regional commercial stations operating outside the metropolitan areas. One of the features of the Australian television context is the quantity and breadth of broadcasting communities outside the network, affiliate and regional system: a feature barely visible in official histories of Australian television. The additional television broadcasters in the Australian television system, while not a focus of my study, include community TV stations, additional digital channels of established networks and a range of narrowcasting services and community television stations of remote aboriginal communities of Australia.[3] Collectively, in 2003–2004, 53 commercial licenses in Australia contributed A$225.2 million to Government revenue in license fees. This figure is a percentage of the stations' profits, which totaled A$591 million (ABA, 2005d).

The distinguishing features of the Australian television system are the unique features of the free-to-air television and pay TV systems. The differentiating features utilised within commercial television to distinguish between network, affiliate and regional stations, are both relevant and significant to my analysis of contextuating programming. For Moran (1985), Cunningham (1997) and others, however, the distinguishing feature of the Australian television system is that it was legislated to be a mixed system of government and commercial broadcasting and it is unique in its mix of commercial and government interests. This curious mix, while looking like the best of the British and US systems, is skewed towards the commercial sector while also maintaining a large federally funded public sector within free-to-air television (Cunningham, 1997, p. 94). Therefore the Australian television culture is one in which government funded television does not have to perform the function of producing and broadcasting "worthy" programming to the same extent that US public broadcasting does through its PBS (Public Broadcasting Service) network, for example. Nor is government controlled television in the Australian television context seen to be the voice of the ruling party as other government controlled television systems are (e.g. Norway, France's TV1). However, one of the persistent tensions in this

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[3] See Flew & Spurgeon (2000) on community TV, and Michaels (1986) and O'Regan (1993a) on indigenous television.

peculiar mix is that all free-to-air television interests, including those that are government funded, operate within a ratings culture, despite their different commercial imperatives and revenue sources, their differences in programming and quite different charters. The two major non-commercial broadcasters, ABC and SBS, are not immune to the imperatives of ratings in their programming and must justify their programming and continued existence within this environment, and all broadcasters are caught in "an economy whose performance is measured by ratings" (Hartley, 1992b, p. 200). Even pay TV needs to count viewers; it is a matter of economics.

Government funded—and therefore taxpayer supported—networks are expected to please all viewers and are regularly subjected to waves of criticism in the media, by the media, government and other regulating bodies, religious groups and unaffiliated voices from the public. The ABC is criticised for catering too heavily toward both left-leaning viewers and conservative viewers, both city and country dwellers, and both the ABC and SBS are subjected to viewers' comments of dissatisfaction with program content and announcers' pronunciation. One of the common complaints of the ABC is that it fails to provide value for money, for viewers and for the government. Criticism is not necessarily a bad thing, but the transposition of a commercial economy onto a non-commercial system easily erases the inequities between the two sectors and can thus be seen to be unfair comparison. The charters of the poorly resourced ABC and SBS networks include a commitment to provide "quality" programming within a system which judges them against much more profitable interests that are less committed to quality programming.[4] This is an unfortunate consequence of the mix of government and commercial interests within the same system of free-to-air television. Local (Australian) television production by the ABC has declined in an environment of cost-cutting exercises of management in a seemingly endless series of changes in staffing and programming, however:

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[4] See Jacka (2000, 2002) for an account of public service broadcasting in Australia.

In August 1999, history was made when for the first time an ABC program—the weekly drama, *SeaChange*—was the most popular program in Australia. (Jacka, 2000, p. 61)

It is curious also that there is so much television for such a small population. Hartley writes that, "Perth, population one million, has more broadcast TV stations than the United Kingdom, population fifty-five million" (1992b, p. 193). It is possible therefore that there is an over-supply of free-to-air channels in Australia, particularly given that so much of what is broadcast across the commercial networks is seen to be repetitive and similar. How the networks differentiate themselves in an environment of oversupply of almost indistinguishable product links directly to my arguments about contextuating programming and its contextualising function which I discuss in Chapters 3 and 4.

Networks, Affiliates and Regional Stations

One important feature of the free-to-air television system in Australia is the complexity of the relationships between networks, affiliates and regional stations, and the ways in which they are differentiated from each other. The relationships between network, affiliate and regional station are defined by broadcast reach (transmission range) and subject to government (federal and state) regulation. However, the broadcast regions do not map neatly onto the legislative regions of state and territory. Thus an interesting feature of the Australian television system is that if one were to draw a map of the Australian television nation with its various broadcast regions and their borders, it would look very different to the map of Australia with its legislated state and territory divisions. The Australian television nation encompasses specific geographic locations, and their inhabitants, in a very different combination to that of the Australian nation as configured legislatively into states and territories. This feature has implications for the ways in which contextuating programming positions viewers as being located in particular geographical locations within the Australian nation. Further, the network, affiliate and regional station relationships are important to my discussion of contextuating programming as one of television's localising practices.

Regional Australia was late to receive the range of commercial television offered to metropolitan markets. To ensure equitable access, government legislation forced a policy of "equalisation", a process of aggregation of regional markets from 1988 to 1992, which expanded the reach of programming on commercial networks to regional viewers. The policy of equalisation, by which commercial metropolitan networks would enter regional markets, aggregated "adjacent regional TV markets into larger single markets" (O'Regan, 1993b, p. 92). Aggregation and the Remote Commercial Television Service resulted in non-metropolitan Queensland, Victoria and Western Australia becoming single markets and non-metropolitan New South Wales becoming two markets (O'Regan, 1993a, p. 33). Thus the markets of television Australia changed and with it the geography of the broadcasting map of the nation changed.

Aggregation and networking forced the move to national programming and television owners of regional stations formed agreements with capital city based networks to enable programming similarities between metropolitan and regional stations. The network-regional affiliate relationship is one in which:

> the regional affiliates pay the capital city stations a fee for the right to their program feed. This fee is calculated as a percentage of regional stations' revenue. The regional stations keep all the revenue earned from advertising on their stations, although a considerable amount of the advertising is sold as national advertising carried across the whole network. The capital city stations acquire from program suppliers the rights to screen their programs in both the capital city and regional markets. (Given, 2000, p. 43)[5]

Thus, for example, Prime Television (as GWN, Golden West Network), covering remote Western Australia and much of regional Australia, buys most of its programming from the Seven Network. WIN, operating out of Canberra in the Australian Capital Territory but broadcasting through the south west regions of Australia, programs product from the Nine

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[5] See Given (2000, pp. 42-43) on Australian networking and differences between Australian and US network systems, and Cunningham and Jacka (1996a, 1996b) for international television features.

Network, and Southern Cross Ten in Canberra (formerly Ten Capital, and along with Ten Victoria, Ten Northern New South Wales and Ten Queensland) programs product from the Ten Network. The impact of these relationships on contextuating programming specifically is discussed further in Chapter 3 and in relation to the contextuating programming of the Australian coverage of the Olympic Games in Chapter 4.

The network-affiliate relationship is not as neatly aligned in remote areas of Australia. In 1984, four new commercial television licenses were made available to four identified remote areas of Australia (Central, North Eastern, South Eastern and Western Australia) following an enquiry by the then Australian Broadcasting Tribunal (ABT).[6] GWN (Golden West Network, owned by Prime Television) won the license for Western Australia, QSTV (Queensland Satellite Television) won the North Eastern license and Imparja Television, a company formed by CAAMA (Central Australian Aboriginal Media Association), won the license for Central Australia. Imparja broadcasts out of Alice Springs to most of regional Australia not bordered by sea and its reach is from the Anafura Sea in the north to Kangaroo Island in the south. Remote and regional television stations can buy programs from a range of metropolitan and regional networks in addition to producing local programming (news, contextuating programming, and, in the case of Imparja, programming relevant to Aboriginal communities local to the station). However, in the aggregation of licenses in 1988, the QSTV and Imparja television "footprints" (the area of satellite coverage) merged and expanded, and both services became available to viewers located within the footprints. Previously, Imparja could buy programs from a mix of networks, but with QSTV also broadcasting into the area, there was a doubling up of product. QSTV, once predominantly Ten programming, switched to programming from Seven, and the station became Seven Central. Imparja now buys programs from Nine and Ten.[7]

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[6] The ABT became the ABA (Australian Broadcasting Authority) which, since its merge with the former ACA (Australian Communications Authority) on July 1, 2005, is now the ACMA (Australian Communications and Media Authority).
[7] See Hallett (1999) for an account of the changes in Alice Springs in this period.

Networking, Simultaneous Programming and Differentiation

There are differing views about the role of simultaneous programming and networking within the Australian system. Moran (1985) argues that:

> *network* [author's italics]in the context of Australian commercial television primarily means affiliation between stations for the purpose of overseas program-buying or cost-sharing on local productions. Although some simultaneous relayingof programs does take place…it is not a normal part of networking. (p. 22)

Elsewhere Moran (1991) emphasises that networking, in the sense of simultaneous broadcasting is the beginning of Australian television:

> The ABC had this networking arrangement in place long before commercial stations did. Thus it was the moon landing, as broadcast by ABC TV in 1969,that marks the beginning of Australian TV, as opposed to Canberra TV, Mount Gambier TV or Toowoomba TV. (The Australian Television Audience section, para. 2)

For Cunningham (1997), the impact of the launch of AUSSAT satellites in 1985-86 on networking and simultaneous programming was important in the history of television networks in Australia:

> With the launch of AUSSAT, the formal recognition of networking, and the revised audience reach limits for single networks (as part of the legislative changes of 1986, owners were no longer restricted to two stations in Australia, but could broadcast to 60 per cent of the population), new possibilities for simultaneous programming and the realities of networking were consolidated. (p. 100)

The change in ownership laws and the introduction of AUSSAT certainly foregrounded the possibilities of simultaneous broadcasting. However, simultaneous broadcasting, with viewers across the country watching the same thing at the same time, is not the norm in Australian commercial free-to-air television and simultaneous programming from an

identified network centre is rare. Rather, given the geographic expanse of the country and the consequent differing time zones within it, simultaneous broadcasting tends to occur *within* shared time zones but not *across* time zones. Sydney and Melbourne viewers, for example, can, for the most part, watch the same programs at the same time because the cities share the same time zone and can therefore participate in simultaneous broadcasts. However, simultaneous broadcasting does not usually occur between Adelaide and Melbourne because of the half-hour time difference between cities, and programs are broadcast according to the local time in each city. SBS (Special Broadcasting Service) originally transmitted all programming simultaneously with the result that, for example, the nightly news program broadcast at 9:00 p.m. in the eastern states was seen at 8:30 p.m. in South Australia, and 6:00 p.m. in Perth. This is no longer the case. In fact, simultaneous broadcasting across all of the television regions of Australia is generally reserved for sporting events and other global media events. I specifically examine the case of the Olympic Games and the impact simultaneous broadcasting has on the contextuating programming across the different time zones of Australia in Chapter 4.

Cunningham (1997) further argues that:

simultaneous programming is the norm, enabled by extensive landline and satellite transmission infrastructure, as well as uniform station identities supported by common ownership structures (see O'Regan 1993). (p. 96)

However, simultaneous programming is not the norm for most of television regions in Australia, because of the timezone differences. Station identities are an integral part of the television system and are part of the contextuating programming of television. The uniformity of station identities is often at a national network level where identifiers and logos for Channel Nine, for example, are similar and therefore recognisable to all viewers nationwide. However, each metropolitan and non-metropolitan affiliate and regional station broadcasts to viewers in different geographic locations and this complex relationship between viewers in a range of locations and a national network is enunciated in station identifications (IDs) and/or fillers. Fillers are short, locally produced segments that often

project images of a specific locality within the broadcast reach of the network, and usually articulate a relationship between that locality and the network/affiliate/regional station with text superimposed over the location's images with slogans such as "Part of WIN Territory" for example. I specifically examine the fillers broadcast on Ten Capital in Wollongong in more detail in Chapter 3.

Station IDs and fillers are not the only articulations of the complexity of relationships within networked television Australia. News programming is one of the genres by which stations and networks differentiate themselves from each other. Metropolitan stations produce news programs that are decorated with all the markings of a national bulletin. The Nine Network's news program is called *National Nine News*, and all versions of it carry the same logo and theme music. However, metropolitan stations produce their own version of the program featuring their own "local" personalities, familiar to viewers in the broadcast region. The *National Nine News* in Adelaide, for example, is produced in Adelaide, features Adelaide anchors and focusses on national and local (Adelaide) news. Non-metropolitan stations, however, are part of a regional network and produce their own news services, often in addition to buying a metropolitan version of the network news. The practice of producing and broadcasting localised news programs on regional affiliate stations often results in a locally produced news bulletin followed by a metropolitan version of a national bulletin. For example, WIN Television in Canberra, part of the WIN Network, produces and broadcasts its own Canberra news. WIN buys most of its programming from the Nine Network, including a 6:00 p.m. news program. Therefore, Canberra viewers can watch their "local" news, *WIN News* at 5:30 p.m., followed by *National Nine News*, broadcast from Sydney, with a focus on Sydney news and hosted by Sydney personalities. Similarly, the national broadcaster, the ABC, also produces news services with a national focus but hosted by local personalities. Uniquely, SBS has no relationships with regional affiliates and consequently there are no local versions of news programming. In this way SBS functions as a national broadcaster in as much as the same news service is broadcast to all television regions nationwide.

O'Regan (1993a) describes the connections between television centres within Australia as one of cores and peripheries:

> As in all economic and cultural geographies, there are core and peripheral centres of television: Sydney and Melbourne, with their 43 per cent of the Australian population, constitute the core of Australian television in ways that make Brisbane, Adelaide, Perth and Hobart (BAPH) peripheral; yet BAPH stations are in turn a "core" for their peripheries in Townsville, Whyalla, Albany and Launceston. Sydney and Melbourne are, in turn, peripheral to the centres of the larger transnational television system—Los Angeles, New York, London, Paris, Tokyo, Rome, Hong Kong etc. (p. xxii)

The concept of a centre as a core with related peripheries, which in turn are cores for related peripheries is one of relationships. Not only are these television centres in relationships with other television centres, but also viewers within these television centres are in relationships with other viewers. Contextuating programming, as I will outline in Chapter 3, is one way such relationships are explicitly suggested, as viewers are addressed as being located within a variety of communities and advised of the relationships between them. Viewers in regional centres are addressed as belonging to the core that is the immediate broadcasting context, Canberra for example, or more specifically WIN Canberra, and its network relationship to other Nine Network viewers. Contextuating programming is also, therefore relational programming as it makes and suggests relationships between viewers, programs, places, networks, and stations.

Pay TV

Pay TV is a relatively recent feature of the Australian television system. The United States was cabled as early as 1940s, Western Europe adopted the system in the mid 80s, and Eastern Europe could allow pay TV after the fall of communism in the early 1990s (Appleton, 1997, p. 172). Westfield (2000) records the battle to control the pay TV environment in Australia, stating that as early as 1982, a report by the Australian Broadcasting Tribunal "recommended that cable and radiated subscription services be

introduced "as soon as practicable"" (p. 24). However, successive governments, with lobbying from media barons Kerry Packer and Rupert Murdoch, delayed its introduction. There was fear that voters/viewers would reject having to pay to watch television, specifically Australian Rules Football matches (organised by the AFL, Australian Football League) and Rugby League games (organised nationally by the NRL, National Rugby League). As Westfield (2000) writes:

> The free-to-air culture in Australia—with its three commercial networks, the Australian Broadcasting Corporation and the ethnic [*sic*] SBS TV—was probably stronger than in any Western society. Pay TV was always going to be a hard concept to sell. (p. 25)

The Federal Government finally approved the introduction of pay TV in 1992, and in 1995 three pay TV broadcasters began operation: Galaxy (Australis Media), Optus Vision and Foxtel later that year (using cable and satellite) (Appleton, 1997, p. 172; Westfield, 2000). Australis, the pioneer of pay TV in Australia, eventually fell into receivership after a global fight to ensure that the reigning media barons controlled pay TV once it was established (Westfield, 2000). Government support of the commercial environment continued through legislation preventing advertising on pay TV until 1997, thereby stalling potential revenue to the providers outside of subscriptions and on-selling of programming.[8]

The initial mood was cautious as pay TV was introduced and the reluctance by viewers to take up pay TV was reflected in the price fluctuations for installing the service. Originally advertised at A$165, connection fees went down to A$19.95. Currently installation fees are offered at specially reduced prices, particularly of the digital services of pay TV providers, or free, as part of new subscriber enticement specials, although subscription fees have since increased for those viewers with satellite service. Further complicating the introduction of pay TV was the variety of distribution modes: cable, multipoint microwave distribution system (MDS) and satellite. A potential subscriber to the

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[8] See Flew and Spurgeon (2000) and Appleton (1997) for further description of pay TV environment.

pay TV system does not always have a choice of distribution method or provider. The geographic location of the house to which it is to be connected is often the deciding factor, despite the fact that many metropolitan homes were cabled by both providers Optus and Telstra as the two companies competed for the telecommunications market.

Unlike the UK and USA "where free-to-air networks were prevented from participating in pay TV" (Given, 2000, p. 44), commercial networks are already integrated into the pay TV environment in Australia. As Given (2000) writes:

> The involvement of the major commercial networks in pay TV in the 1990s has been significant. Nine is a major investor in one of the pay TV platforms and Nine and Seven are both investors in pay TV channel suppliers. (p. 44)

Initially reluctant to participate, the commercial networks waited until they could be sure of maximising profit and ensuring control of the pay TV environment by buying out the smaller, innovative operators who initiated the environment, with the result that the same convergence of ownership of other media in Australia is reproduced in the pay TV system (see Given, 2000, p.44; Westfield, 2000). Packer and Murdoch were slow to become involved in pay TV, and actively lobbyed against it, but when it was clear they could no longer sit on the sidelines the weight of their financial base pushed out the earlier players. Once involved, Packer and Murdoch moved to change the free-to-air culture and viewers' resistance to pay TV. With their investment in Foxtel, via their investment in Telstra, Packer and Murdoch were active in the promotion of cable as the preferred system of pay TV delivery because of the potential of the telephony and internet usage by cabled households.

Pay TV and Sport

Sport was always going to be the biggest incentive for pay TV subscribers. Commercial networks often decide not to broadcast sporting events that they have the television rights for, and viewers, it was feared, would turn to pay TV to watch sport. In December 2000, a consortium led by Murdoch's News Limited bid A$500 million to

broadcast Australian Football League (AFL) games from 2002-2006. The consortium, incorporating News Limited, Telstra, Foxtel, and Nine (Packer owned) and Ten Network interests, outbid the former rights-holder, Kerry Stokes' Seven Network for the rights to the broadcasts. The consortium bid of A$100 million a year was A$60 million more than the AFL previously received from Seven. Such a move allowed the consortium to on-sell the AFL broadcasts to the free-to-air interests of the consortium (Networks Nine and Ten) while retaining the right to broadcast all games on their pay TV interest, Foxtel. This move effectively ended the 50-year relationship between the AFL and Channel Seven, and severely harmed Channel Seven's pay TV interest, C7, depriving it of one of the essential enticements to pay TV, that of local (Australian) sport coverage. It also confirmed that Packer and Murdoch controlled pay TV. In this example of the convergence of ownership and broadcast systems, News Limited, and the Murdoch/Packer interests in Foxtel, effectively ensured that sport will move to pay TV, although in the meantime the broadcasts will occur on free-to-air stations, Ten and Nine. Newspaper reporting of this deal reflected the interests of the owners as Murdoch-owned papers, particularly *The Advertiser* in Adelaide where AFL is the most popular football code, dubbed the event a "football revolution" while admitting at the time that "The big bonus is to Foxtel, which has 700,000 subscribers nationally" (Fidgeon, 2000, p. 6). *The Advertiser* further promoted the move, writing:

> Present and future Foxtel subscribers will, however be the biggest winners. For about the price of a reasonable bottle of red wine a week, they will, from 2002, be able to watch every match of every round either live or on delay. (Roach, 2000, p. 78)

The fall-out from the deal is continuing and in September 2005, the Federal Court of Australia is sitting to hear the case of Kerry Stokes' Seven which claims that those involved in the deal "conspired to 'kill' its C7 pay-TV sports channel, which folded in 2002" (Top-paid silks, 2005). The trial is expected to take up to nine months to hear and it is assumed that the losing party will launch an appeal (Kappelle & Haynes, 2005). Seven is seeking up to A$1 billion in compensation (Kappelle, 2005).

In December 2005, just before the death of Kerry Packer, the Nine Network bid A$780 million for the rights to broadcast the AFL games from 2007 to 2011, an increase of more than 50% on the amount paid for the 2002-2006 broadcast rights. Nine was bidding without the support of Ten who are now in alliance with Seven. Ten was attracted to the Seven Network by the first-and-last rights clause that Seven had paid for, which allows Seven to place the first bid and to counter any offer made by other parties. The Nine bid therefore, was both in response to an initial bid by Seven and Ten, and also an offer which Seven and Ten could match. Most of the media coverage of the bid suggested the offer was one the Seven-Ten alliance could not match. However, Seven-Ten did match the offer and will now have to work out how to pay for the binding deal, including the possibility of on-selling to Packer and Murdoch's Foxtel. The battles for sports coverage and the place of sports coverage within the Australian television system continues.

Pay TV and Programming

The continued existence of pay TV is not quite as tumultuous as its history and, at the time of writing, Foxtel and Optus have emerged as relatively stable metropolitan providers and Austar has settled into the regional market. A number of other pay TV providers, such as Transact in Canberra, have entered the field, offering convergence packages of fixed-line phone, mobile phone, internet and pay TV as subscription bundles. However, Foxtel and Transact are, in August 2005, fighting over programming issues with Foxtel threatening to withdraw from providing program service to Transact. With programming product the key to continued pay TV subscribers, minor providers will always be at the mercy of companies like Foxtel who have all but sown up the provision of programs.

In addition to increased sports coverage, another programming strategy to entice viewers to subscribe to pay TV was the provision of recent-release movie channels such as Encore and Showtime. Pay TV pushed free-to-air television down the chain of movie exhibition (see Westfield, 2000) resulting in a predicted decline of first run movies screened, partly in response to the decline in movie availability and audiences watching

them (Flew & Spurgeon, 2000, p. 76; Given, 2000, p. 498). As a consequence, free-to-air television has increased production of local programs, predominantly in the genres of lifestyle, or "infotainment". [9] Most recently there has been an increase in the "vote-them-off" genre with the presence of programs including *Big Brother* and *Australian Idol*. These programs entice viewers to evict contestants, using phone calls or text messages to register their preferences. Both programs use cross promotion through other television programs within the network to create and maintain their audience; evictees of Ten's *Big Brother* appear the next evening on Ten's *Rove Live*, for example. In addition, these programs, with their foregrounded viewer participation rely heavily on the internet, magazines, radio and mobile phone technology to support their penetration. Lifestyle programs also utilise the internet as they establish websites where viewers can recall information, buy the associated publishing and products from the show, and download fact sheets and recipes, all of which serve to support and reinforce the program. While free-to-air television was slow to use the convergence potential, it is now an established practice. Lifestyle programs, and other leisure, magazine and infotainment programs, serve another important function, that of airing personal (read local) taste and as such they participate in the process of reinforcing particular local and national identities.

Free-to-air Programming

Some general trends of programming can be identified within free-to-air television in Australia, and while I do not focus on television programs specifically in this study, a summary of programming is necessary because the object of my study, contextuating programming, exists within the Australian television programming context.

The first Australian television schedules were dominated by programming from the US and the UK, and Australian television still imports much of its programming such that programs produced in Australia exist alongside "foreign" programs. It follows then that Australian television production would borrow program styles and broadcast structures and programs produced in Australia continue, for the most part, to resemble those produced in

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[9] See Given (2000, p. 49) and Bonner (2000) for more on lifestyle programming on Australian television.

the UK and the US and, with some exceptions, the tradition of imitating the format of the original programming continues. *Big Brother* and *Australian Idol*, for example, continue the long tradition in the Australian television context of locally produced versions of globally circulating programs.

The early period of television production in Australia was a period of trial and learning, and the emphasis was on live studio based genres as they were cheaper to produce. The first genres of Australian television production were news, sport, and variety shows. In 1958, however, ATN Channel 7 produced a 15-minute radio style drama/soap, *Autumn Affair*, scheduling it at 9:00 am (Moran, 1993, pp. 65-66). Moran (1993) writes that unlike other soaps of the time, *Autumn Affair* was produced, "without a sponsor as the station ...wanted to gain experience in the production of drama to match its growing expertise in news, sport and variety" (p. 65).

Bowles (2000) writes that, "soaps are...central to the history of the Australian television industry" (p. 126) and that while Australian-made soaps share features of American and British soaps, they have "colonised the lucrative middle ground" between the naturalistic British soaps and "the entirely studio-based American daytime soaps" (p. 120). Popular locally, some soaps have found success as exported programming to the UK and Europe. *Neighbours*, *Home and Away* and *A Country Practice*, and mini-series including *Vietnam* and *Bodyline* all fared well in international markets. Not all local shows that rate well when screened in Australia do well internationally, but as Cunningham and Jacka (1996b) write:

> The Australian system has neither the depth of public-service ethos and product of the UK system, nor the universalist appeal and range of talent of the US system, but its re-combination of both systems affords it certain strengths beyond those seen in similarly medium-or small-sized, peripherally placed industries. This doesn't guarantee export success, but it does suggest the variety of models available to Australia [*sic*] producers. (p. 54)

Australian made product for export and international co-productions are an essential feature of the Australian television production context in a global market place. However, while there is continued and increased popularity for locally produced drama and soaps, and an increase in their exportability to international markets, Australian programs rarely do well in the US market (Bowles, 2000; Cunningham & Jacka, 1996a; Moran, 1993).

The production and popularity of particular television genres is far from predictable. Genres can become popular for seasons and then decline, or are quickly replaced by new favourites. Moran writes of the "displacement" of the cop show by the mini-series on Australian television in the late 80s (Moran, 1989, p. 241 as cited in McKee, 2000, p. 144). In recent years on Australian television, law and authority based series including *The Practice*, *West Wing*, *Blue Heelers*, and *Water Rats* have displaced medical drama series such as *ER* and *Casualty*. These in turn have been displaced by forensic programs such as *Crime Scene Investigations (CSI)*, and *NCIS*. Network Ten has displaced the traditional Sunday night movie with the drama series. Often genres are not "displaced" but modified. Ellis (2000, p. 109) argues that "there are moments when a genre becomes formulaic or too narrowly concentrated, and begins to lose its appeal for its viewers". Ellis is talking specifically about the demise of the talkshow genre in Britain in 1998 but it could also apply to the once hugely popular young single people sitcoms (*Friends*, *Seinfeld*, *Will and Grace)* which might have almost reached their limits.

Other features of Australian television programming in the late 90s-early 2000s include a (short-lived) increase in viewer-provided programming. SBS developed a strong tradition of supporting short film through its commissioning processes and its production of shows such as *Eat Carpet*. The ABC found popular appeal in its competitive series *Race Around the World* where a select group of young filmmakers traveled the world making short documentaries which were then rated by a panel of judges. Such was the success of the original that the ABC produced two sequels, *Race Around Oz* and *Race Around the Street*. The impact of the rise of such programming could have accounted for a short-lived genre of TV program, the short-film-for-TV. The short-film-for-TV genre is cheap programming for the broadcaster and fulfills local content requirements while promoting a

culture of filmmakers rather than television directors. While commercial networks did not embrace short filmmaking to the same degree as the ABC and SBS, the youth programming channels on pay TV (Arena, MTV) also run competitions for viewer made TV. The impact of encouraging short filmmaking has occurred within a context of increased venues and festivals for short filmmaking and an increase by film funding bodies (Australian Film Commission for example) to support short filmmaking.

A more domestic and amateur version of viewer produced TV is the continued popularity of home video compilation shows including *Funniest Home Videos*, which, while mainly broadcasting content produced in other countries, often includes local viewers' home video footage. These programs share similarities with the World's Best/Worst genre (*World's Worst Drivers*, *World's Worst Car Chases*) which package together (usually "foreign") footage taken by witnesses, police cameras, traffic cameras and security cameras. The major difference I believe between the two styles of filmmaking is one of intent and authorship. Usually the home video maker is filming for a purpose, whether that be to produce a piece that will end up on the show, or genuinely capturing an event that accidentally, or not, goes wrong. The programs in the World's Best/Worst genre are usually edited and repackaged recordings of surveillance cameras. Both genres often edit out the compere from the original broadcast country and edit in a local presenter, which is an example of the localising function of contextuating programming.

Another feature of programming in the current Australian television context is the advertorial or infomercial. Networks reduce program purchase costs and increase revenue by accepting payment from advertisers to broadcast these programs. These "paid for" programs can last from 30 minutes to an hour and afternoon and late night programming on commercial free-to-air television is full of them. It is unclear if the rise in infomercials is in response to viewers switching to pay TV, or if viewers are switching to pay TV because of them, but in 1999, figures indicated that around 60% of those homes with pay TV were watching between 5:00 am and 5:30 am. Other peak times for pay TV viewing were from late morning to mid-afternoon (Elder, 1999).

Despite the introduction of pay TV, or perhaps because of it, one of the stand out features of Australian free-to-air television programming is the content, quantity and style of sports coverage. Rowe (2000b) argues that colour television rapidly changed the nature of sport coverage, as did:

> the dawning realisation that sport could capture some of the largest and most loyal audiences for advertisers, deliver excellent ratings to TV companies and provide extremely valuable opportunities for "feel good" brand recognition for sponsors. (pp. 131-132)

The appeal of sport also produced talk shows about sport and Australian television has plenty.[10] The distinguishing feature of Australian sports coverage is the technological advances made in the style of coverage, particularly in the coverage of international Test and One-Day cricket matches. Current techniques imitate or allude to the interactivity of the computer screen and its capabilities. Facts and graphs about any facet of the game rapidly appear accompanied by exciting animated graphics, audiences hear pre-recorded video-voiceovers about what it feels like to reach a century or half-century just as the player reaches the goal, camera angles show what batsmen see as the ball is coming toward them at high speed, and increasingly video technology is the "Third Umpire" (cricket) or the "Video Referee" (football) in difficult situations. These features not only anticipate a viewer with complex audiovisual and televisual literacies, but also increase the range of visual options for the representation of any event. However, this complex use of technology is rarely seen to the same degree in imported sports coverage and appears to be a characteristic of sports coverage produced in Australia. It is also rarely used outside of the genre of sport, however Ellis (2000, pp. 91-102) writes about the use of similar sophisticated televisual techniques, or what he calls "videographic qualities", in news programs. These videographic techniques can occasionally be found in some sections of lifestyle programming. The once popular Australian lifestyle program *Burke's Backyard* used such techniques when it toured Europe, using them to reconstruct ruins and provide

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[10] See Cunningham and Miller (1994, pp. 63-89).

facts about the sites visited. A similar example of television's technological capabilities can be seen on the Bloomberg channel on pay TV where the Bloomberg screen resembles a webpage with its split screen information sections. The "live" program runs in one corner of the screen, surrounded by constantly changing text and image information about stock markets, weather, horoscopes and breaking news, and recently more identifiable product advertising.

In 2005, videographic features are visible on commercial free-to-air television, particularly in news programs where running text across the bottom of the screen is already a new norm. This feature seemed to appear as a consequence of the airplane attack on the World Trade Centre's Twin Towers, New York on September 11, 2001. As news of the attack circulated, most Australian television channels chose to switch to direct feeds from US television networks rather than localise their footage with local presenters. The multi-layered screens of US television news included snippets and summaries of information that roll across the screen at the same time as analysis and commentary was being provided by the studio talking heads. In a strange homage, almost all Australian news programs copied this feature during their localised coverage of the event, and have retained these features in their current news broadcasts. However, often the most complicated videographic techniques are used in station IDs, promos for programs and other contextuating programming, where multiple layers of information need to be conveyed in extremely short periods of time.

Technology

Technology is integral in the evolution of program features, particularly in the news, sport and quiz show genres and in contextuating programming. Technological innovation was necessary to network the nation, and due to the vast distances between populations, there has been a relatively swift move in the area of satellite transmission. The commencement of colour broadcasts in 1975 marked an important leap in television in Australia, as viewers bought new and additional television sets and networks promoted its introduction through new logos and programming that took advantage of its new features. The introduction of pay TV in 1995 too was significant, although its introduction was as

much to do with telecommunications and the internet as it was to do with television viewers.

The most recent innovation is digital television, which arrived in Australia on January 1, 2001 (ABA, 2005d) [11], and which will eventually replace the analogue signals. Flew and Spurgeon (2000, p. 82) write of the improved service digital television will provide, including better quality reception and increased content options. However, as they also point out, there exists a "tension between 'broad' and 'narrow' understandings of digital TV's impact" (Flew & Spurgeon, 2000, p. 83) and the potential exists for digital technology to provide a wide range of services to consumers beyond the "narrow" understandings of the innovation "as primarily an extension of existing services" (Flew & Spurgeon, 2000, p. 83). Promotion of digital television by the commercial free-to-air stations promised multi-channel possibilities and evoked tropes of space travel [12], but has so far failed to convince viewers to adopt it, with only 12% of the approximately 15.2 million television sets in Australia converted (Tasker, 2005).

Content Regulation

Commercial free-to-air television in Australia is regulated in the areas of ownership, reach and content. The *Broadcasting Services Act 1992* regulates the types of programming broadcast on Australian television. [13] The restrictions on ownership and reach are also enforcable through the *Broadcasting Services Act*, however, the Commonwealth *Trade Practices Act* and the Commonwealth *Foreign Acquisitions and Takeovers Act* also restrict concentration of license ownership by foreign interests and concentration of audience reach. The Australian Broadcasting Authority (now the ACMA), through the *Broadcasting Services (Australian Content) Standard 1999* (ABA, 2004) "promote[s] the role of

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[11] The ABA's *Australian television history and trivia* page (ABA 2005c) incorrectly lists January 1, 2002 as the date of introduction. The ABA's *Digital & analog questions* web page (2005d) and Digital Broadcasting Australia's *Digital TV FAQ* (2005) correctly list the start date as January 1, 2001.
[12] The Nine Network became Nine Digital ahead of the introduction of the technology, but initially the biggest change was in reception quality. Viewers were told to expect fuzzy reception after January 1, 2001.
[13] See Given (2000, pp. 47-48) for a brief summary of program regulation under this Act and McKee (2000a, pp. 144-146) for more on Australian content regulations, particularly in relation to drama.

commercial television broadcasting services in developing and reflecting a sense of Australian identity, character and cultural diversity" (ABA, 2004, p.4). The standard outlines what constitutes Australian content in television programming and determines quota requirements that must be fulfilled by commercial broadcasters in order that they may keep their broadcasting license. The current standard "requires all commercial free-to-air television licensees to broadcast an annual minimum transmission quota of 55% Australian programming between 6 am and midnight" (ABA, 2005b). Advertising is also regulated in terms of Australian content and the requirements are outlined in the *Advertising Television Program Standard (TPS) 23–Australian Content in Advertising* (ABA, 2004). The standard outlines what constitutes advertising, the types of advertising that are exempt, what constitutes Australian content in advertising, and the current quota of Australian advertising that must be broadcast by licensees, which is 80% of total yearly advertising between 6:00 a.m. and midnight.

Cunningham (1993) argues that "the main rationale for continued regulation has been the argument that advertising has a role in the formation of national cultural identity" and acknowledges:

> the positive contribution advertising itself may make to national culture….Under the umbrella of the tribunal's [ABT] content regulation, Australian television advertising has developed a strong grammar of national imaging that parallels film and television fiction, but has a considerably greater permeation of the mass market. (p. 129)

Cunningham (1993, p. 130) emphasises "the central role that advertising has played in the development of a popular audiovisual 'grammar' of national identity during the 1970s and 1980s". He argues that the "repertoire of Australianist tropes" once found in the "public-service advertising" of campaigns such as "Life. Be In It", which promoted good health and lifestyle and the "Advance Australia" campaign, which called to Australians to buy Australian made products, can now be found in advertisements "flogging beer and tobacco and utilises images that range from the unacceptably sexist to the innovative, even

progressive". This fact, he argues, "simply registers the modularity of advertising's nationalism" (p. 130). I believe contextuating programming, particularly in advertising, but also in station IDs and fillers, both uses and expands the repertoire established in the 1970s and 1980s and works to both create the nation while also reflecting on what the nation might be, and in doing so positions viewers as Australians.

In addition, commercial free-to air television stations operate within their self-regulated *Commercial Television Code of Practice* (Free TV Australia, 2004) which includes guidelines for classifications of broadcast material, guidelines for advertising material, and hourly limits for non-program material, as well as defining what that material is. Individual television stations have their own codes of practice regarding methods by which they will deal with customer complaints and how they will maintain community standards. Program content on pay TV is also bound by a code of practice[14] and the *Broadcasting Services Act*. Pay TV can broadcast material rated "R" by the Office of Film and Literature Classification but it must be provided through a disabling device (pay-per-view or blocked transmission) to protect minors.[15] Pay TV was able to set its own content and advertising standards in the initial stages and children's channel Nickelodeon:

> developed its own Commercial and Promotional Standards and Practices Code, which is based on the Children's Advertising Review Unit of the US-based Better Business Bureau. (Burbury, 1997, p. 29)

Nickelodeon had its own code of minimal advertising, choosing not to broadcast advertising between 9:30 a.m. and 2:30 p.m. and limiting advertising to between five to seven minutes per hour (Burbury, 1997). Even with its own restrictions on advertising, in July 1997, the first month in which advertising was allowed on pay TV, Nickelodeon had "achieved 30 per cent of its ad budget" (Burbury, 1997, p. 29). Nickelodeon also experimented successfully with the integration of programming and the internet with their

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[14] See Flew and Spurgeon (2000) for more on pay TV regulation.
[15] Material rated 'R' is deemed suitable for viewing by adults over the age of 18 years and is not allowed on free-to-air television unless edited so that it complies with a different classification.

first "advertoy", the Reach toothbrush, promoting it with games and prizes (Burbury, 1997). In this way, pay TV was ahead of free-to-air programming in exploring convergence potentials.

My description of the current Australian broadcasting context has broadly summarised the distinguishing features of the system, in which the object of my study, contextuating programming, exists. To account for how the system came to be as it is, I will, in the following section, summarise Cunningham's history of the system, followed by some personal reflections on such a history. Contextuating programming in the Australian television system reflects both the features and history of the system.

Cunningham's Four Phase History of Australian Television

Cunningham (2000) draws on Comstock's history of US television (Comstock, 1991 as cited in Cunnningham, 2000, p. 16) and involves:

> using the concept of the long-term "business cycle", a cycle that moves from the innovation and diffusion of a new technology, to its establishment and system growth as a communications industry, then to a period of maturity and popularity followed by indicators of specialisation and diversification. (p. 16)

By referring to technological innovation, regulatory control, programming trends and patterns of audience consumption, Cunningham provides a history that implicitly acknowledges the dynamic and complex relationships between those features of the industry. However, all histories are subject to the historian's selection of significant features and judgement of their relevance. Later in this chapter I question some of Cunningham's mapping of events and highlight some omissions I see as significant. Cunningham's four phase history concludes with the Australian television system in the late 1990s and I discuss some possibilities for the system in the fifth phase in Chapter 5 of my study. Further, some of the points raised in this chapter lead into a discussion of identity in terms of nationhood and community. These issues are taken up in Chapter 3 where I

examine the features of contextuating programming and, specifically in Chapter 4 where I analyse contextuating programming in relation to identity and nationhood.

Prehistory

The history of Australian television could commence with the first broadcast in 1956 on Channel Nine in Sydney, or with the first transmission tests in 1935.[16] Cunningham's history begins with a pre-history which encompasses events from the establishment in 1949 of the Australian Broadcasting Control Board (ABCB), the body responsible for planning the introduction of television while also monitoring the radio industry, to the first broadcasts in 1956 in Sydney and Melbourne (Cunningham, 1997, pp. 91–95). A change in federal government in 1949 resulted in a change of direction for the planned industry. The former federal Labor government intended the new system to be more closely modelled on the British system, "a system of publicly (or state) owned television" (Cunningham, 1997, p. 94). However, after the Liberal/Country Party government ordered a Royal Commission into Television in 1953, the decision was made that the system:

> would be a "dual" or "mixed" television system. This meant that Australia should take the best elements of the systems in the United States (which was overwhelmingly commercial in orientation even after a small public sector was added in the 1960s) and Britain (which was wholly public in nature before a commercial sector was added in the mid-1950s). (Cunningham, 2000, p. 16)

Curthoys (1991) writes in more detail of the decision and relates it to foreign policy and the state of the economy at the time. In addition, the public in a newly elected Menzies era was ready to go to war, and the Liberal Party was determined to institute a commercial TV system despite growing public concern and reports from their own research and fact-finding missions indicating that commercial TV would be fraught. Curthoys (1991) writes:

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[16] See Moran (1991) and Curthoys (1991) for examples of other histories of Australian television.

In essence, the Australian TV system, like the Australian foreign policy of the period, would combine British and American allegiances and models. There was to be an American-dominated commercial system and a British-dominated national system. (The establishment of TV in Australia 1941-1956 section, para. 7)

The blueprint for the introduction of the new medium was written in the *Broadcasting and Television Act* of 1956, which established that, "there would be two commercial stations in each major metropolitan market, along with one public (or 'national') sector station" and the broadcasters were to own "the transmission technology for their signals" (Cunningham, 1997, p. 94). While owning the transmission technology seems to echo the monopolisation of means of production of the Hollywood studio system of the 1950s, the similarities and possible warnings were not noticed by the government of the day. What is clear is that the commercial slant of these regulations, licensing arrangements and agreements "made the subsequent renewal and possible revocation of licenses a very difficult question for regulatory bodies" (Cunningham, 1997, p. 94).

First Phase 1956-63

For Cunningham (1997, pp. 95-97), the first phase of establishment and a cycle of diffusion is marked in the Australian television system by the award of the first licenses and the subsequent evolvement of three de facto networks; Seven and Nine in the commercial sector, and the government funded ABC. The initial programming content and style reflected the period of establishment and the available technology produced a particular "radio style" of product and an emphasis on imported programming. The lack of sufficiently developed technology prevented simultaneous broadcasting from the de facto networks.

The first television broadcasting licenses were to be granted on principles of localism, and "television was expected to reflect local concerns and be owned by local interests on the model of the 1950s newspaper or radio station" (Cunningham, 2000, p. 17). In a curious interpretation of "local interests" the first commercial licenses were granted in Sydney and Melbourne to the companies that also owned press and radio in those cities:

Fairfax, Consolidated Press and the Herald and Weekly Times group (Cunningham, 2000, p. 17). Thus, while operating under a principle of localism that sees press and TV ownership as unproblematic, the laws regarding the granting of television licenses allowed a concentration of ownership across media and helped to consolidate the dynasties of the media owning families of Fairfax, Murdoch and Packer.

Perhaps the extent of these decisions was not anticipated as television began in Australia, but the consequence of the early policies is that the concentration of media ownership is now almost impossible to untangle and difficult to control. The early decisions and principles about ownership based on a rather short-sighted principle of localism are the beginnings of a tradition of hopelessly inadequate policies regarding media ownership, content and localism. As the dynastic companies of Packer and Murdoch further diversify and internationalise their interests and acquisitions, and as communication, information and entertainment technologies converge, the question of their position in relation to local issues must surely be complicated.

The concentration of media ownership occurs at the moment the first licenses are given to families and businesses already showing a diversity of media ownership and displaying potential for further expansion. The owners of television stations established de facto networking practices, yet to be legislated for, and Cunningham (2000) remarks that:

> In the development of television, we can see an inherent tension between the legislated principle of localism, and the commercial principles of cost minimisation, economies of scale and maximising audience reach. (p. 17)

Despite this inherent tension, I would argue that the "legislated principle of localism" is one that appears to encourage a concentration of ownership across media without foreseeing the consequences of such a localised view of the potential of global media. As this pattern of ownership was repeated during subsequent licencing decisions, stations operating in different cities shared programming and reproduced scheduling so that the practices of networking were established. Cunningham (1997) believes that:

Consequently, the great unofficial story of Australian television is the development

of de facto networks: how they have evolved, despite their absence from the

systems of regulation, and the way principles of localism and networking have

competed, more and more to the detriment of localism. (pp. 95-96)

By the end of the first phase of the Australian television system, all capital cities have operational television stations. Australian television programming in the first phase "exhibits the derivative characteristics of a period of establishment" (Cunningham, 1997, p. 96). It relies heavily on imported products and established styles, and reproduces pre-existing styles from other media and entertainment. This first phase is marked by the large amounts of imported programming, with figures demonstrating that almost all programming in prime time to 1963 was imported, with 83% of it imported from the US (Cunningham, 2000, p. 17). Thus, the first phase is also the beginning of a tradition of broadcasting imported American and British product still practised today. The Australian made programs, similar to radio stylistically, were broadcast live. Filmed Australian product for television broadcast consisted mainly of advertisements for transnational companies who were the major source of television revenue (Cunningham, 2000, p. 17).

The lack of suitable technology prevented the audiovisual recording of this period in Australian television broadcasting (Cunningham, 1997, p. 96). Simultaneous broadcasting was impossible as existing technology was unable to cover the distances required. However, the American product was shot on film stock and thus was transportable between stations (Cunningham, 1997, p. 96). This is a significant technological factor in the shaping of the Australian television system. Until the introduction of landlines and video tape the majority of programming transported between stations was foreign product. Thus scheduling was reproducible; foreign programs were repeated across different regions of Australia, interspersed with live programs produced in specific regions. Nationwide, viewers were watching the same imported programs, but each specific television region was producing its own live programs, local to their broadcast site. The practice of foreign programming interrupted by Australian made advertisements and

programs, including those programs and advertisements that are local to the specific regions of broadcast (newsbreaks, weather updates) continues.

Second Phase 1964-75

The second phase of Australian television, "was a period of establishment and growing maturity—of structural completion of the system as it appears in the contemporary period, and of the beginnings of Australian drama production" (Cunningham, 2000, p. 18). It is also marked by the expansion of local Australian television production across genres, related in part to the introduction of the third network, the 0/Ten Network, which increased the repetition of scheduling already evident in the system (Cunningham, 1997, pp. 97-98). Cunningham (2000) refers to Hall (1976) who argues that the third network created "too much competition too early for limited programming sources, resulting in three networks triplicating styles, identities and audience targets" (Cunningham, 2000, p. 18). The three commercial networks lacked substantial differentiation in this phase, and some would argue this remains the case. The production of Australian television drama actually began in the first phase and Moran (1993) lists 1958 as the year of production of *Autumn Affair*, but the success of drama production during the second phase was reflected in the ratings success of Crawford drama productions, beginning with *Homicide* in 1964 (Cunningham, 1997, p. 97).[17] The local television production industry expanded into other genres including variety, quiz shows and sitcoms, in part in response to demand from the increased number of networks, but also in response to the demand for local content from the Australian Broadcasting Control Board (Cunningham, 2000, p. 18).

Third Phase 1975-87

The third phase of Australian television is one of "structural maturity" (Cunningham, 2000, p. 20) which "has a clear technical marker with the introduction of colour television" (Cunningham, 2000, p. 18). The introduction of colour broadcasting in 1975 rejuvenated the industry as the audience bought second sets, new sets, and watched again. The third phase is also marked by the increase in importance of local product, the

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[17] See also Cunningham and Jacka (1996b).

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introduction of SBS (Special Broadcasting Service) television in 1980 (it was already providing a radio service) and the launch of the AUSSAT satellites (now Optus satellites) (Cunningham, 2000, p. 19; Jacka, 2000, p. 57). The large number of high-rating Australian shows during this phase is a reflection of what Cunningham (2000) describes as a:

> great leap forward in the cultural and industrial importance of local product. Opposition to the dominance of American programming had started to become a public issue by the late 1960s, and the growth in popularity of Australian programming had become very marked by the early 1970s. (p. 18)

The emergence of SBS as "innovative multicultural and multilingual television" (Cunningham, 1997, p. 102) further enforced the mixed format system, with two non-commercial networks competing with each other and the commercial networks on free-to-air television.

The years 1985-86 saw the introduction of satellite launches, beginning with the launch of AUSSAT, an event significant for a number of reasons. Satellite transmissions are "distance insensitive", and the approval of the technology for the future of communications was therefore also a "formal recognition of networking" (Cunningham, 1997b, p. 100), in that it was an approval of a technology designed for simultaneous and shared transmission of programming across regions.[18] Thus, satellite technology introduced "new possibilities for simultaneous programming and the realities of networking were consolidated" (Cunningham, 2000, p. 19).

The introduction of domestic video in early 1978 (ABA, 2005c) changed the potentials for all television watching.[19] Video technology enables viewers to keep programs for later viewing or archiving, to watch television in their own time and in chunks of time, and to make our own programming, as well as highlight the potential for other uses of the

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[18]See Westfield (2000) for an account of how approval was sought by various media players for this technology.
[19] See Appleton (1997) for discussion of video technology and video rentals.

television set including video games and home movies. Cunningham (1997) acknowledges
the impact of video technology and concludes that because of it:

> scheduling practices have changed (for example, there is much more promotion of
> upcoming items within longer running shows such as sports and video clips
> programs), producers have responded by making "faster" shows and advertisements
> contain a lot more written exclamatory material. (p. 99)

The video recorder seemed made for video music programs. Stockbridge (1992)
discusses music clip/video programs on Australian television during the 70s and 80s,
describing them as a way for stations to cheaply provide local content, but does not
mention the impact of the VCR on these shows. However, it does appear that music clip
shows proliferated with the introduction of the video recorder. Television channels are no
longer able to screen music clips for free and such shows are now expensive to produce.

Video technology and the remote control enable viewers to become more freely and
readily able to shift across space and time. Viewers traverse the spaces of stations and
free-to-air television and pay TV systems and manipulate time as they pre-record programs,
edit out unwanted segments, make compilations of segments, fastforward and rewind
segments, and tape programs for repeat viewings. Hartley and O'Regan (1992, p. 152)
argue that "the remote control is the visible sign of people's control over not just their own
equipment but over the act of looking too", while Ellis (2000) discusses the power of the
schedule as a way of accounting for continued viewing practices such as these within a
climate of choice.

However, even with options for time-shifting, watching television in real-time is
still a preferred viewing practice for many. My parents, both now in their seventies, and
experienced channel surfers, slalom-ers (Hartley & O'Regan, 1992, p. 152), and video
record-ers, own three televisions, three VCRs and a Foxtel digital subscription, yet still
prefer to watch movies on television in real time and tape their regular drama programs
only if there is a clash in programming, or they know they will miss them due to other

commitments. The pleasure and convenience of real-time viewing is still a critical aspect of watching television.

Fourth Phase Summary 1987–Late 1990s[20]

The fourth phase of Australian television is one of "specialisation and diversification" (Cunningham, 2000, p. 20), and begins with dramatic ownership changes due to a shift in regulation. The previous rules, in force until 1986:

> meant that television licensees were restricted to two television stations anywhere in the nation and one in any one service area, while press and other media interests in a service area could own television and radio stations in that area in accordance with the principle of localism. (Cunningham, 2000, p. 20)

The changes to the ownership laws meant that now television licensees were able to own more than two stations provided they did not exceed an audience reach of 60% of the population. The current reach limit is 75%, with the Seven Network reaching 72% (*Communications Update*, February 1999, as cited in Given, 2000, p. 47). These changes to ownership laws also allowed networking to be formalised as it was now possible to own a number of stations across regions within the allowed audience reach limits. Licensees were not, however, allowed to own press and television in the same area. The changes in legislation forced a fast and furious change of ownership of television licenses: the most notable being the takeovers by Alan Bond of the Nine Network, Christopher Skase of the Seven Network and Frank Lowy of Network Ten. In the 1990s, the networks changed hands again and subsequently went through a period of re-stabilisation. Kerry Packer bought back Nine, Kerry Stokes purchased Seven and the Canadian company CanWest took control of Ten (Cunningham, 2000, p. 21).[21]

The fourth phase of Australian television saw further restructuring of the system. The *Broadcasting Services Act 1992* gave approval for the introduction of pay TV and

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[20] In Cunningham (1997, p. 103) this section is titled "Fourth Phase: 1987–97".
[21] See Given (2000) for more detail and Westfield (2000) for ownership interests.

community TV, and for the establishment of the Australian Broadcasting Authority (ABA) (Cunningham, 2000, p. 15). Cunningham (2000) writes that the new regulating body's approach:

> works to push back to the industries the responsibility for self-regulation. The blueprint for the ABA is very much a product of the economic rationalist enthusiasms of the late 1980s and early 1990s. (p. 21)

The public broadcasting stations, ABC and SBS, also underwent change in this period as they were forced to meet their costs and commitment to locally produced (and expensive) programming through external funding from sponsorship and advertising (Cunningham, 2000, pp. 21-22). SBS was able to generate sponsorship after legislation in 1991 established it as a corporation (Jacka, 2000, p. 63). The commercial networks were also feeling the high costs of producing local drama in an environment just out of a recession and Cunningham states their investment in local drama production declined in this period (Cunningham, 2000, p. 22). Thus the combination of a deregulation environment, a recession, an ABA supportive of deregulation and diminishing policy on local content, and an expanding climate of networking due to technology and sympathetic policies, marks the period as one of a decline in local programming. Cunningham cites many examples of localised-regionalised programming replaced by centralised programming, particularly in the areas of news and current affairs where, for example, the formerly "state-specific editions of the *7:30 Report* were replaced in 1995 by a single nationally networked edition" (Cunningham, 1997, pp. 106-107). This was reviewed in 2000, and states now have their locally produced version, *Stateline*, on Friday nights.

The specialisation of this period is in the move to formalised networking, centralised programming and the decline in local programming. The diversification of this period is evidenced by the range of technologies employed in the delivery of television, the introduction of the new formats of pay TV in 1995 and community TV in 1994, and the provision in 1993 of an international Australian television service, (Australia Television, now defunct), through "the ABC's satellite service to the South-East Asia region"

(Cunningham, 1997, p. 107). Finally, the fourth phase sees Australian television production increase its participation in world markets, with productions funded from international sources and presales in other markets common (Cunningham, 1997, p. 109).[22]

Reflections on History

Cunningham's approach provides a useful summary of the evolving television industry and the business cycle approach marks phases of development of the Australian television system as beginning and ending in particular years, and segments its history chronologically. In this cyclical history, Cunningham judges some moments of technological and legislative introduction as significant in the evolution of the system and thus selects the dates of these events as marking the beginnings and ends of phases. Thus, the first phase in 1956-63 begins with the first transmissions in Sydney and Melbourne. The second phase in 1964-75 begins with the amendments to the *Broadcasting Act* stipulating local content requirements, and the establishment of the third commercial network in Sydney and Melbourne. The introduction of colour television in 1975 marks the beginning of the third phase and the fourth phase in 1987-97 begins with the dramatic changes in ownership of 1987. Cunningham is writing history with a focus on policy that represents dates of legislation and introduction of technology as significant, and fixed, moments in time. However the introduction of technologies, and implementations of legislations are rarely instantaneous and automatic. The use of specific dates as markers of phases hides/denies the processual, and often gradual, features of legislation and shifts in technology and policy.

A further criticism I have of Cunningham's approach is that the emphasis on technology and policy fails to sufficiently see television as popular culture and consequently it de-emphasises the role of surrounding media in its introduction, development and future evolution. Thus, there is no mention of the role of popular culture in introducing the new technology to the public and its role in educating viewers to use and accept the technology. To rely on policy as the initiating force in the history of television is

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[22] See also Cunningham and Jacka (1996a, 1996b) and Sinclair, Jacka and Cunningham (1996).

to devalue its existence in a complex web of popular media. Television was not introduced without comment, collaboration and periods of instruction from already existing popular forms, including radio and newspapers (Curthoys, 1991; Hartley & O'Regan, 1992; Moran 1991). Curthoys (1991) writes that:

> Public discussion of TV - its proper forms of ownership and control, its possible virtues and vices - began in Australia at least ten years, one could argue fifteen, before the introduction of TV itself. (Introduction section, para. 2)

Hartley and O'Regan (1992) write about the introduction of TV in Perth, and say that, "since the early 1950s national publications like the *Australian Women's Weekly* had carried TV stories" (p. 147). Television also advertised itself to potential viewers. Moran (1991) explains that take-up of television was slow due to the shortage of programs and the prohibitive cost of the actual set. Therefore, television relied on demonstrations to promote itself, which meant that:

> transmission times in this period were scheduled not around domestic viewers in a home situation (there were too few of these) but around potential owners looking at demonstrations in departmental and electrical stores. (The July, September and October beginnings section, para. 3)[23]

Scheduling to coincide with domestic routine was yet to come:

> Only later once a stable domestic audience had been constituted could a station begin to think of selling audiences to advertisers. (Moran, 1991, The July, September and October beginnings section, para. 3)

New technologies are often accompanied by discussion and pedagogic persuasion from other media. A history of a popular technology should make reference to its position

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[23] See also Hartley and O'Regan (1992, pp. 147-148).

within other forms of popular culture and yet these features of television in Australia are missing from Cunningham's prehistory. A history of television that places television as significant within and integrally connected to popular culture would mark some of these moments as historically significant signs of the ways in which the business of television was validated culturally.

History and Programming

While Cunningham does select certain programming features as indicators of historical phases, particularly in the third phase, which is described as a period of increased local drama production, I believe he does not adequately discuss the importance of programming and scheduling in the history of Australian television. The fact that Australian television broadcasting relied on the importation of foreign programming, mainly from US and Britain, to fill air time is a historically significant feature of our system that continues to have an impact on the development of the system.[24] This practice is critical to the development of and the functions of the object of my study, contextuating programming, and my examination of it includes analysing the role of programming and scheduling on Australian television.

Further, Cunningham's approach neglects specific programming trends and programming of specific events as constitutive of changes in history and as historical markers. Cunningham does mention the moon-landing in 1969 as an example of the role of technology in television programming, but such events are significant for other ways in which television takes its place in culture. Large scale global media events also offer insights into programming and broadcasting arrangements between and within countries. When schools closed in my suburb so we could go home to watch the moon landing, we were connected to programming decisions of the US broadcasting system where the timing of the landing had been orchestrated to capture the prime time evening audience watching in the US summer. Such events also speak of the specific localised practices of viewing and of how certain events take a particular place in culture because of television. The Olympic

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[24] See, for example, Moran (1993) and Jones and Bednall (1980).

Games of 1956, held in Melbourne, were crucial to the introduction of television in Australia, instrumental in the beginnings of the transition of copying radio formats to a televisual style, and educational in instructing audiences how to watch television. The Olympic Games of 2000 in Sydney brought people back to the television sets, and the broadcasts were active in nation-building in 2000.

Further, tragedies and the consequences of tragedies and accidents can be broadcast, intentionally or accidentally, which can have an impact on televisual practices. Hartley writes about a suicide broadcast in the US in 1998, which caused reflection on journalism in the US (Hartley, 2000, pp. 167-168). The coverage of the OJ Simpson murder trial changed court room broadcasts, the Azaria Chamberlain case turned according to media coverage of it, the rescue of Stuart Diver from the Thredbo landslide was broadcast live for as long as it took, the story of the murders at Port Arthur was revealed as cameras arrived and filmed what they could, and the death of Diana, Princess of Wales, produced unprecedented reactions and media coverage of them. The reactions to the televised broadcast of the explosion of space shuttle Challenger in January 1986 shortly after take-off could not prevent the space shuttle Columbia from a similar televised fate in February 2003 as it exploded on re-entry.

Local and National Histories

Cunningham's history is one that constructs a "national" history of Australian television, one which does not adequately represent the significant differences in the implementation of federal legislation across the States and Territories of Australia. Cunningham's history of the Australian television system suggests the policies implemented, and features of the phases of the industry, occurred simultaneously and in the same way across the nation. The emphasis on specific dates masks the differences in acceptance and implementation of policy across Australia. Cunningham's history is at times peculiarly localised to metropolitan regions in the eastern States of Australia, yet different states, cities and regions had/have very different experiences of the evolution of the television industry based on differing, and geographically specific, legislative

implementations.[25] By focussing on Sydney and Melbourne, Cunningham's approach mirrors the industry practice of dividing the television market into Sydney/Melbourne and the others (BAPH: Brisbane, Adelaide, Perth, and Hobart). While Cunningham acknowledges that different States received television stations at different times, this feature of the system is not seen as overly significant, with the result that what is actually a local history (a history of federal policy implemented in Sydney and Melbourne) can be read as a national history.

However, I believe that it is precisely through such localised differences that the complexity of the television system is revealed. Cunningham's construction of a common national narrative from distinctly different local practices highlights the need for a contextual approach that encourages the view that such disturbances and variances are meaningful. This concern is not to discount Cunningham's history or the methodology used, but to indicate that such a policy and technology approach to history can simplify a complex actuality. Cunningham's approach fails to see as significant the differing local evolutions and manifestations of the industry across the nation. For example, Cunningham lists the emergence of a third network in 1964-65 as one of the key features of the second phase of Australian television, yet Perth did not receive a third network until some 14 years later, in 1988.[26] Such discrepancies highlight the significance of such omissions. Cunningham's map of televisual Australia doesn't include the regional markets of Darwin, Canberra or Launceston, for example, which, while omitted from Cunningham's account are present in the Australian television landscape. A discussion of the various television regions of Australia, and the different ways in which they experienced the history of television would acknowledge the fact that the borders of Australian television regions do not reproduce state and federal geographic and legislative boundaries. This complicated mapping, and the disparity between legislative and televisual borders is evident in elements of contextuating programming across the nation which articulates the different viewing experiences of viewers in different television regions within the nation. I examine this feature in more detail in Chapters 3 and 4.

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[25] See Given (2000, pp. 41-47) for summary.
[26] See Hartley (1992b, pp. 193-201) for an account of the third network in Perth and localism.

Conclusion

In this chapter I have described the distinguishing features of the Australian television system, the features of programming on Australian television and summarised Cunningham's four phase history of how it came to be as it is. Further, I have provided some reflections on Cunningham's analysis that mirror some of the problems with existing studies in the field of television studies, in particular in relation to contextual specificity, identity and locality. These are problems that I will explore in some detail in my examination of contextuating programming and my analysis of specific examples of contextuating programming on commercial free-to-air television in Australia.

As we move into what would be Cunningham's fifth phase of television, in an era of globalisation, digitisation, and convergence, anxieties about Australian television centre around issues of identity, locality, community and nationhood and around concentration of ownership, foreign ownership and foreign programming. The debates about Australian content continue, as do debates about current programming content leading to a loss of Australian identity, the fear specifically being that viewers will become "Americanised" through our televisual practices. These anxieties exist precisely because television is a national cultural form, but US programming within an Australian context cannot simply make Australians American. Contextuating programming, with its localising and relational functions, addresses viewers with a range of identities, not merely normatively Australian identities and rarely identities that are American. In the following chapter I examine contextuating programming in the Australian television system and analyse its role in relation to contextual specificity, and demonstrate how it works to offer localised and nationalised identities to viewers. Specifically, I examine how contextuating programming localises viewers and programs in its offers of national, regional and global identities and relationships.

CHAPTER 3: CONTEXTUATING PROGRAMMING:
FEATURES AND FUNCTIONS

"No flipping."

Larry Sanders, *The Larry Sanders Show*.

Once upon a time, I was trapped in a suburb of San Francisco. I was in the land of the free, stuck in a bunker disguised as a home in what they called a planned community; conveniently located far enough away from downtown that the riff raff couldn't accidentally stumble upon it, and sprawling enough to be impossible to leave on foot. Entombed in a grid of too many almost identical but expensively differentiated houses, I had nowhere to run and, with no car and no public transport, no way to get there. The compound was called CastleRock, and for a brief moment I thought any housing estate that shared the name of the production company that produces the sitcom "Seinfeld" couldn't be all that bad. But it turned out to be a different thing all together.

I had come to San Francisco to live. Previously, when I had been a visitor, I found the differences between them and me strangely cute and interesting. However, this was supposed to be home now and I should be fitting in. Californian locals couldn't understand my Australian accent and I couldn't understand a whole lot of things. I couldn't stop thinking about how weird it felt to be living in America and not be American. Why didn't it feel like home? I quickly realised home had little to do with where I lived. Home was where I felt comfortable, and this wasn't it.

I was stuck in the bunker, almost permanently inside and I watched a lot of television. Television fed me information about the outside. It told me what was going on in my new city, my new country and what was supposed to be my new home. Television told me about the people I was living with in its program content, in its advertisements, in its station IDs, in its jingles. Television fed me information about down the road. My

entrapment mirrored Mimi White's (1992) description of the TV alien Alf whose "contact with the outside world is channeled through the apparatuses of telecommunications" (p. 3). Without a car, but licensed to use the remote control, I found myself driving to distraction, weaving my way through Television USA. I worked my way through talk shows, comedy channels and sports channels looking for signs of home. I occasionally found programs I'd seen before with people in another time and in another place. Watching programs in America was reminding me that I wasn't back home in Australia.

Watching too much television and eventually realising that you can watch too much television, I stumbled upon the Salingers and their Party of Five, broadcast on the Fox network at 9:00 p.m. on Wednesday nights. Repeatedly described as "critically acclaimed", this low rating hour long weekly serial tugged at me in all the right ways. Here the Salinger siblings, orphaned after their parents died in a car accident, are functioning in a different kind of TV family drama, as they struggle to grow up without parental guidance. Soon I was involved in the decisions made by father figure Charlie, and concerned for Julia and her troubled adolescence. I cringed at the sophistication of 11-year-old Claudia and gasped at the abilities of the Tom Cruise impersonator, 27-year-old Scott Wolf playing 17-year-old Bailey and I worried about who was feeding Owen, the rarely seen youngest partygoer. I'm not sure why this program captivated me but it was one of the few things at the time that I could connect with. I also wanted it to mean something to me because the stories took place in my new home town. I should have been able to say to my friends: "Look, that's where I live, that's my home". Instead it made me even more aware that I wasn't feeling at home in my new home. There I was, feeling lost in San Francisco watching a show about a family who had lost their parents, living in San Francisco.

I finally escaped and returned to Australia where my family and friends were, and I found myself watching more television than usual with them as I recovered from my life as an alien and settled back into the familiar world of watching TV (mostly) made in Los Angeles in Australia. Television functions in some ways like a map or at least a postcard, as a reminder of where you are and where you've been and not long after my return I was

in that broadcasting lag, watching shows I had already seen. "Party of Five" was on in
Australia, but it was different now. What was late Wednesday night viewing in the US was
now peak time, 7:30 p.m. Sunday night family viewing, in Australia and families were
watching a family without parents. The Salinger life was now punctuated by colourful
scenes of Australian life thanks to, among others, the multinationalglobals McDonald's and
Coca-Cola, and when I lived and worked in Wollongong, New South Wales, it was also
brought to me by the local clothing store Tramps for Men. Now the San Francisco accent,
the dappled warm flower power summer of love light and the buildings of the Presidio were
in my Australian cities. The Party was everywhere. The Party moves, and I move, and I
wanted to account for what the difference was between watching it there and watching it
here.

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Surviving my time in San Francisco reinforced that I cannot become an American; I
can only, as Caughie (1990) suggests, play at being one. Yet this constant reflection and
refraction of identities is part of the pleasure of travel. You find out more about who you
are when you are not at home as you negotiate difference, acceptance and refusal of codes,
familiarity and unfamiliarity of signs. Silverstone (1994) writes:

> Home is a construct. It is a place not a space. It is the object of more or less intense
> emotion. It is where we belong. Yet such a sense of belonging is not confined to
> house or garden. Home can be anything from a nation to a tent or a
> neighbourhood....The home is easily idealised....Yet its idealisation has a function,
> and as such it has consequences for the conduct and evaluation of our everyday
> lives and for our feelings of security, attachment and loss. (p. 26)

It was this connection to home that was playing on my mind when I felt those feelings
watching television in my new home in San Francisco. Silverstone (1994) states that
"television may be received 'at home' but 'home' itself is both constructed through, and
constructs, other realities, and television is implicated in all of them" (p. 29). Possibly this
was what was happening: "other realities" were being constructed. Homes were being

constructed (San Francisco, America), but even though I was living there, it was not feeling like my home.

In my life I am occasionally afforded the luxury of movement. I have traveled to conferences near and far and revelled in the play that comes with being elsewhere and someone else. I can eat different foods, and try on different clothes, and shop in different spaces as I travel and work. And some of the experiences I have are very like those I have at home, but they can never be exactly the same because those back home are unique to being back home, immersed in all the contextualities of home. Much of the enjoyment of travel for me is the sorting of experiences into those that are almost-the-same-as-home and those that are different. The experience of travelling is one of constantly acknowledging the like and the unlike, and all the variants along that continuum. This supermarket in California is called Safeway and it looks and feels just like Woolworths in Wollongong but with more Mexican food on the shelves. This variety show on French TV is like no variety show I have ever seen before. This news program on US television has the same theme music as the news on Channel Nine in Australia. Some days the differences are huge and result in frustration at not being understood when trying to communicate. Other days the differences are small and amusing, as when, for example, a request for some chips with my meal brings me a packet of cold potato crisps, not the hot variety I was expecting. These differences, and the almost-the-samenesses, remind me that when I am somewhere else I am also someone else: foreign, unlocal, not-like. These differences I experience clash and resonate and confront and humour an image of myself in cracked glass; a distortion here, a refraction there, of who I think I am and who I might seem to be to others. The differences remind me of who I can and cannot become within the context in which they occur.

I also find a great deal of pleasure in watching television elsewhere. I have moved a lot and for much of that moving, television was there with me. Part of the pleasure of travel involves, for me, watching television in different places. Television programs are exported globally, particularly the ones I like, and I can watch television almost anywhere in the world and recognise programs familiar to me. Watching television programs familiar to me in other places reminds me that I am away. In fact, being away from home reinforces that

there is a home to be away from. In its absence it is everpresent. These familiar programs pop up like old friends. But it is never the same when you see them out of context, or, in the case of my experience in San Francisco of watching *Party of Five*, in their context. I can ask of them and them of me: "What are you doing here?" "Why is it different seeing you here (away) than when I saw you there (home)?"

The experience of recognising the differences in watching programs elsewhere has interested many television researchers. Fiske (1990) writes about watching American television in America and Spain, Michaels (1990) writes about watching American television in Australia, Rutherford (1994) writes about understanding advertising in Barcelona, Ang (1985) writes about watching *Dallas* in Western Europe and Mumford (1994-1995) writes about the recontextualisation of *thirtysomething* as it moves from network to cable broadcasting. My interest, however, is in the experience of watching television in different places, and what makes that a different experience. When watching the same program in different places, the program does not change but my experience of it does. It is obvious that when travelling and watching television I am watching programs in a different cultural context. Reflecting on my experience in San Francisco when I returned home, I thought more and more about the connections between cultural context and television. I could see that television carried indicators of the local cultural context, not only in its programs, but also, and more specifically, in the non-program material surrounding the programs. It was the contextuating programming with its indicators of the local context that were unsettling to me, for they addressed me as being somewhere I wasn't—home. I was also being addressed as someone I wasn't—a local.

On my return to watching television in my various homes in Australia, I was beginning to see television networks as places with borders that mark out their audience reach through their transmission range. When I travel, I cross not only borders that separate states and countries but also televisual borders that separate local reach, network and affiliate divisions, metropolitan and regional boundaries and national and international broadcasting structures. Often the televisual borders differ to the state, national and international borders, and thus television systems create and sustain a different set of

communities, located in geographic regions bordered not by federal legislation but by the capacities and limitations of transmission signals. One of the markers that indicates that I have moved through televisual borders, and that I am watching in a different televisual place, is the non-program material, the programming surrounding the programs. This programming addresses me differently, and fills me in on what else is on the station I am watching and, on most stations, lets me know through advertising spots what businesses, products and services are available in the area of viewing.

Chapter Overview

In this chapter, I define my typology of contextuating programming, and describe the various features and functions of contextuating programming. I compare some of the differences in contextuating programming across national television systems, and specifically compare the contextuating programming of Australian television systems; the differences between free-to-air television and pay TV, and then, within free-to-air television, the differences between government and commercial systems. I examine the functions of contextuating programming including the strategies that articulate geographies, identities and places, including network-spaces and station-spaces. Specifically, I analyse four fillers broadcast on Ten Wollongong as they construct a location within which viewers are situated.

My analysis then extends to the transitional functions of contextuating programming as it transitions viewers from program to program and section of program to section of program. I analyse two examples of contextuating programming broadcast on the Ten Network (Canberra) to illustrate this point; the block of contextuating programming between the *News at 4:30* and *M*A*S*H*, and the following block of contextuating programming between the beginning of *M*A*S*H* and the next section of *M*A*S*H*. Finally, I consolidate the arguments I have made regarding the nation-building function of contextuating programming.

This chapter focusses on the ways in which contextuating programming contextualises viewers and programs as it provides information about the context of

viewing; the television station, network and system, including a national system and their broadcast regions. At the same time, contextuating programming addresses viewers as local and at home, while also positioning them in relation to other programs, stations and networks, and local, national and international communities of viewers.

Not the Programs

Watching television does not always involve watching a particular program. Viewers can watch many programs at once by zapping across stations, and viewers can intend to watch television without intending to watch a particular program. Whatever the intent, settling down to watch television often involves watching much more than the scheduled program. Television programs or, more accurately, sections of programs are connected to each other by non-program material. The industry function of non-program material, known within the television industry as "continuity", "continuity programming" or "presentation"[27], is to link discrete programming units together. Morey (1981) writes that continuity "is by definition an 'un-programme', one neither intended by the broadcasting institutions to constitute a programme, nor perceived as such by the audience" (p.1). Further, Morey (1981) writes:

> Possessed of this uneasy and indistinct status, it is perhaps not surprising that continuity has escaped analysis–a critical disregard which would seem to accommodate all too readily the dominant perception of continuity sequences as propagated by the established broadcasting institutions, for whom it is a natural and unproblematic component of television output. Given this lack of critical attention, it becomes correspondingly important to pose certain basic questions of continuity sequences on television. What are the main characteristics of those images and sounds with which continuity sequences are constructed? How do they operate? What is their relationship to the other images and sounds which constitute programmes? Indeed, is it useful to draw a distinction in terms of programmes [sic] and un-programmes [sic]? (p. 1)

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[27]In France, for example, this programming is known as "Publicite".

My examination of non-program material in this chapter answers those questions raised by Morey. I have already made the distinction between programs and non-programs, and therefore, in answer to the last of Morey's questions, I believe it is useful to distinguish between "programmes and un-programmes" precisely because of their very different functions. The functions of non-program material are varied, but in my study I demonstrate that its primary function is to contextualise programs and viewers, by positioning them in relation to specific geographic locations within a national broadcast system that operates in an international market. Because of the importance of context to the meanings offered by television and the centrality of non-program material to that work, and because non-program material performs a function of contextualisation of viewers and programs, I have coined the term "contextuating programming" to describe the non-program material of television. I am calling the non-program material contextuating programming because I believe it does much more than keep the television flow continuous. In describing non-program material as "contextuating programming" I am highlighting the very functions of the programming that I am interested in. It is not just that contextuating programming performs the function of "making continuous" of the term "continuity", but that it also performs the functions of localising programs (and thus viewers), of positioning programs and viewers within networks (imagined and real) of relationships, and of marking transitions across programs (and thus viewers, cultures and meanings). Contextuating programming can perform some or all of these functions—localising, relational and transitional—within discrete elements of contextuating programming such as an individual advertisement or station ID, and also within a block of contextuating programming.

Contextuating programming positions viewers as members of various communities, including network communities, viewing communities of various programs, and consumer communities of programs and products advertised. Contextuating programming also addresses viewers as occupying identities related to gender, ethnicity, religion and sexual preference, however my study is not analysing these indicators specifically. My analysis focusses on the ways in which viewers are addressed as being members of communitites related to location, particularly the locations of station- and network-spaces within the Australian television system.

Typology

Further, what I am calling contextuating programming contains more than those genres that exist within what the industry terms "continuity". Morey (1981, p. 8) constructs a "Provisional Typology of Continuity Material" comprising five main categories: network-identification, continuity announcements, trailers, advertisements and miscellaneous (fault apologies, official announcements, transmitter information and test card). My use of the term contextuating programming describes programming features beyond those described by Morey. I believe that all non-program material, including that of continuity programming, works to contextualise programs and viewers and I am expanding the concept of "continuity" to include other genres and features of non-program material such as credit sequences, watermarks and local voiceovers.

My typology of contextuating programming comprises: stings and teasers (short promotions), trailers (longer promotions including preview scenes from the program) for the program you are watching, for other programs that advertisers and networks think you might also like, (based on the fact that you are watching whatever it is that you are watching) and for special events or special programming by the network. Contextuating programming also includes station identifications (IDs), logos and jingles, news and weather updates, community service announcements, political advertising (including reminders to vote and referendum advertisements), advertisements and sponsorship announcements, and transmission information (fault cards, test patterns). In addition, my concept of contextuating programming extends into what we usually think of as program credits. Rather than see program credits as the space where distinct borders exist between program material and non-program material, I see program credits as one of the spaces where the process of contextualisation is made visible. It is here where places elsewhere, textually indicated by logos and IDs, often foreign, and almost always elsewhere relative to the network-space, are made local as viewers are positioned relationally to other places by voices and advertisements that are local to their viewing location. The identification markers of credit sequences are part of contextuating programming precisely because they directly refer to a program's production and distribution contexts, and specifically indicate the places from where a program originates. My typology of contextuating programming

therefore also includes some of the material found in program credit sequences, including the program production and distribution logos and IDs.

My typology of contextuating programming also includes voiceovers that are layered over the credit sequences of programs, which usually speak of the place where the program is being broadcast, rather than the place from where the program was produced. Contextuating programming also includes all non-program material that is watermarked or branded over program material. A watermark, known also within the television industry as a "bug", is a piece of textual material that is superimposed during the program such that it is visible but does not block out the program. Commonly this is the station logo and on Australian commercial free-to-air television it is almost always visible for the duration of the program. Branded material, also known as "supers" or "pop-ups", are also elements of televisual graphic material which are superimposed over the program material but, unlike watermarks, branded material tends to disappear after its work is done. Station logos can be branded material as they can appear at the same time as a branded program promotion appears. Branded material includes material that the industry groups together under the term "classifications" but which I am calling "enhancement indicators" because it is usually information that is provided by the broadcaster to enhance viewing. For example, the appearance of "CC" branded over program material indicates that closed caption text is activated for a program. Occasionally "HD" appears indicating that the broadcast is available in high definition for those viewers who can take advantage of that feature. Other indicators such as "Widescreen", "Digital", "Stereo" and the logo for "Dolby Sound" often appear as branded material. Further, as programs on commercial free-to-air television are classified in terms of appropriateness of content, the contextuating programming before a program begins often contains an announcement by the broadcaster of their recommendations regarding appropriate viewing audiences. The classification symbol then appears as branded material during the program.

Branded material can also include small images of actors in addition to text information about a program and can take up a large part of screen space when it appears, and is noticeable as it leaves. Branded material is often therefore more disruptive to

viewing than watermarked material as it calls loudly to viewers to take notice of it as it bursts onto the screen. Watermarks, however, seem to nudge the viewer gently, whispering a reminder to them of where they are in the menu of broadcasters.

My expansion of the features of contextuating programming to include such devices as watermarks, branding and enhancement indicators highlights the fact that contextuating programming appropriates programs as it draws over them with textual markers and reframes them with local voices. The television program, formerly a discrete unit to be bought and sold, is written over, localised and re-contextualised by elements of contextuating programming once it reaches each broadcast environment. Each broadcaster uses contextuating programming to make a program local to them, writing over programs such that a program that has been screened on a number of stations has been identified at each screening as uniquely belonging to each different broadcaster. Contextuating programming massages the program into the local broadcast context, contextualising it within local spaces of networks and stations, viewers and advertisers.

Contextuating Programming

Morey (1981) analyses what he calls continuity and its place within television broadcasting and writes:

The term continuity is used to refer to items broadcast between the ending of one programme [*sic*] and the beginning of another; it is that which "occupies" the "space between programmes [*sic*]". (p. 1).

Hartley (1992b) too defines it as a gap or space: "Continuity is the gap between programmes, between whatever you're watching" (p. 165). However, I see non-program material as the active space where identities are offered, and can be accepted, rejected, or re-worked, as meanings flourish in relation to each other and in connections of local, regional, national and global spaces. Contextuating programming does not fill a space between programs, but rather is a site where identification occurs, or improvisation of identification can take place. Contextuating programming works to anchor viewers and

programs to specific locations of television—the station, the network, and the television system—and to position those locations as home and as viewers as locals within those spaces. Yet contextuating programming also provides a layering of identifications and positionings, which are opportunities for new, changed and re-worked identities.

The quantity of what Morey (1981) describes as continuity "is not statistically negligible" (p. 2). On Australian commercial free-to-air television, broadcasters may screen up to 15 minutes an hour of non-program material. Hartley (1992b, pp. 55 & 130) suggests what he calls continuity programming occupies a similar percentage of programming as news programming. But as Morey (1981) writes, "it is of course not merely the quantity of continuity material which is of interest but also its location in the total context of broadcast images and sounds" (p. 2). Further, he writes that:

> Continuity sequences are not peripheral to the experience of watching television, but central to it, contributing far more than might initially be supposed to the encoding and decoding of televisual meaning. (Morey, 1981, p. 1)

I agree with Morey that continuity, or what I am calling contextuating programming, is central to the experience of watching television. It is so central that I also agree with Hartley (1992b), who suggests "it could be argued that continuity is the norm, programmes [*sic*] are the deviation" (p. 165). Non-program material might be the norm, but viewers can choose not to watch some elements of it. Rutherford (1994) and Twitchell (1996) describe research into viewers' activities during the screening of television advertisements and subsequent advertisement recall that suggests television advertising is ineffective in increasing product sales. In fact, the appearance of contextuating programming is often a cue to take a break and leave the room. In addition, viewers can exercise their choice not to watch the material in the program breaks without leaving the room through the use of the remote control, whether that be to flip to a station that is broadcasting a different program, to mute the sound of the non-program material, to fast forward through non-program material during a pre-recorded program on VCR or DVD, or to prioritise viewing on

picture-in-picture television sets. These viewing choices are so acknowledged that recently released DVD recorders have a "skip advertisement option".

Regardless, contextuating programming is important because it links broadcasters, advertisers and viewers as participants in television. Television programs are, after all, the gifts to viewers, bought/brought to them by sponsors/advertisers, networks and production and distribution companies. Contextuating programming acts as packaging that wraps the program gift in local meanings and it performs a crucial function to the watching of the program by packaging it, buffering it, and massaging it into the local space. As program wrapping, contextuating programming recontextualises the program and localises it to the station on which it is broadcast. The broadcaster has paid for the privilege of briefly owning a program for broadcast, even though it might have been broadcast elsewhere previously and might be broadcast elsewhere in the future. Programs might even be broadcast on different networks or television systems simultaneously. Contextuating programming locates the program within the specific broadcast context to a specific locale, and is the process by which programs are made familiarly local, are given as gifts to viewers by identifiable gift givers (networks and channels), and are adopted into particular network families as they become decorated with station IDs and other network identifiers. The localised programs then deliver viewers to advertisers, including those in the immediate broadcast region.

Contextuating a Nation

As non-program material, contextuating programming, with the occasional exceptions of some news and weather updates, does not usually appear in the published program schedules available to viewers. Hartley (1992b) refers to it as "the television that isn't there" (p. 165). However, it is there, and all televisual broadcasting incorporates contextuating programming to varying degrees and forms. Yet while all broadcasting systems incorporate contextuating programming, its forms and functions, while familiar and recognisable as contextuating programming across systems, carry traces of the specificities of the system in which it has been produced and are therefore unique to that system. For example, contextuating programming on Australian network television will

display features common to contextuating programming elsewhere, while also predominantly displaying features that are specific to contextuating programming on Australian television. Further, contextuating programming is specific also to the particular broadcast region within Australia in which it operates. For example, contextuating programming on Australian networked free-to-air television consists predominantly of Australian accents and scenarios and images that are meaningful within an Australian context. Advertising spots within contextuating programming speak of an Australian culture, reframing global products into the Australian context through "Australianised" soundtracks, for example, while also promoting services that are only to be found within the immediate geographic location of broadcast. There are the rare occasions when contextuating programming uses indicators of "foreign-ness" such as the presence of (mainly) British or American accents as voice-overs or in advertising. These examples stand out as unusual within the Australian commercial free-to-air television context and the use of a non-Australian accent is marked and carries with it associated meanings (British for refinement, or American for celebrity). Contextuating programming occasionally includes advertisements that are screened globally (such as the promotional material for the Olympic Games) and their presence situates viewers within a global viewing environment.

Another example of the way in which contextuating programming is unique to the television system in which it operates is the way in which specific television systems program contexuating programming. In the Australian television system, television programs are both interrupted by and surrounded by large blocks of contextuating programming, and the block of contextuating programming functions within a scheduling context specific to the Australian television system. Not all television systems use contextuating programming in the same way. For example, free-to-air television in France (and many other European free-to-air government, commercial and pay TV broadcasters) block their contextuating programming at the end of the program, with an occasional block during the program that acts not unlike an intermission. Pay TV in Australia uses contextuating programming in a slightly different way again to free-to-air television in that it uses a hybrid Australian/European model in terms of where it is placed. On pay TV contextuating programming is bulked between programs and occurs less frequently during

and within programs. While my focus is on commercial free-to-air television I also make reference to contextuating programming on pay TV throughout my study.

Contextuating Flow

When contextuating programming surrounds broadcast programs, part of its work is to keep the televisual flow continuous. Williams (1974) identifies the shift in broadcasting, particularly television, from discrete program units to a sequence or flow and describes the shift from identifiable intervals between discrete program units, to the programming practice of scheduling programs and additional material (promotions, trailers, advertisements, station IDs) as a sequence that goes beyond an individual program. This practice is predicated on the hope that viewers will continue watching television and remain with the channel beyond the program if material is broadcast that will promote a block of viewing time, and encourages viewers to watch an evening of television, not just a program. Williams (1974, pp. 91-92) describes his unsettling experience of watching this programming flow when he visits Miami. Here, in a culture new to him, he has difficulty marking the distinctions between the programs, trailers and advertisements, and interpreting the unconnected units within the planned flow of programming. This is in contrast to my experience in France 30 years later when I could easily identify which items in the televisual flow were the program and which were not. What was interesting for me was how identifiable contextuating programming was globally and yet how tightly it was tied to the immediate geographic and cultural context in which it was broadcast. I was an eager and willing consumer of its offerrings in Paris, but the experience was unsettling because I was not intimately familiar with the context within which it was operating and I was therefore culturally disadvantaged. Contextuating programming pays little attention to visitors. It addresses all viewers as being from the same place it is from, and as being familiar with televisual and other cultural forms and meanings of the location in which it is situated.

Contextuating programming is an essential part of the flow that Williams (1974) describes. Not only is it programmed by the broadcasters to earn money (through the advertisements) and entice viewers to stay (through trailers and promotions), but it is also

crucial to viewers. A viewer sitting down to watch television is often required to switch across genres during the period of viewing and contextuating programming assists in that switch through its consistently recognisable form. While individual elements of contextuating programming might be from a range of genres (news breaks, weather updates, station IDs, different generic forms used in advertisements), a block of contextuating programming is generally recognisable for what it is, and it thus provides a consistency for viewers. In this way, I suggest that contextuating programming can be seen as the consistent form of programming within a range of programming genres within the televisual flow. Moreover, it enables viewers to watch programs made in cultures and broadcast systems other than the viewing system, particularly within the Australian broadcasting context where contextuating programming surrounds an abundance of imported television programming. Thus, contextuating programming performs a localising function as programs are embedded within forms of contextuating programming familiar and consistent to local conditions and contexts. Contextuating programming was working in similar ways when I was watching television in France, as it worked to embed and localise imported programs such as the US drama series, *ER*. The contextuating programming in France was French, and, not only was *ER* dubbed into French language, but also other contextuating programming spoke of French culture and of French television, including where contextuating programming was placed in the broadcast hour.

Contextuating Languages

Context, by which I mean the situational contexts of both broadcast and reception, is as important as the texts being broadcast. Context is important in talking about any form of cultural product in the current climate of "borderless markets" (Cunningham & Jacka, 1996b, p. xi) and contextuating programming works to identify the context of broadcast and also the relations between broadcaster, programmer and advertiser within specific broadcast contexts.

Contextuating programming is programmed by stations in specific geographic locations and it therefore usually addresses viewers in the language of the local viewing area. When travelling to Istanbul, Turkey, for example, contextuating programming, such

as advertisements for local business and promotions for upcoming television programs, addresses me in Turkish, which is not my local language. Imported programs also address me in Turkish as they are dubbed into Turkish for Turkish viewers. This is another example of how I am positioned as a local viewer, in this example as a Turkish viewer. The practice of dubbing foreign programs from the language of their production into the language of the location in which they are consumed is a form of contextuating programming that localises the program for local viewers. However, language is only a minor inconvenience and I can often still watch programs familiar to me, and have some understanding of the narrative because I am aware of the televisual patterns, and of the characters and plots of familiar shows. Similarly, contextuating programming is similar (and different) internationally, and I can also have some understanding of contextuating programming and its modes of address even when the language spoken is not one familiar to me. Advertisements for products still make some sense to me and by watching and listening I learn something of the culture of the area in which I am watching and what it is to be a local in that area. In this way, contextuating programming functions to remind me that I am no longer in *my* local televisual world and that the televisual world is speaking to a community of locals for whom this address is not unfamiliar. Simultaneously, however, I am also being addressed *as* a local, for contextuating programming serves to be specific to its locality, and in Istanbul I am addressed by advertising as a Turk in Istanbul. Because of this, contextuating programming reminds me of where I am watching and how I might fit in, or not. It is contextuating programming that locates viewers, telling them where they are and how to participate in that place.

Familiar programs in unfamiliar languages reveal something of the global television market, and the place of the particular national television system's place within it, as well as revealing something of viewing tastes specific to that system. Contextuating programming, unfamiliar in its specificity, but familiar in its form as program packaging, addresses me as local even when I know I am only a temporary resident. As my experience in San Francisco demonstrated, being addressed as a local can also serve to reinforce the very fact that, when away from home, you are not a local. In Australia, one does not have to travel very far to be literally in another televisual state and to therefore be addressed by

contextuating programming as local to a different place. For example, when I worked in Wollongong, an industrial city 85 kilometres south of Sydney, I lived in Canberra, which is a two-and-a half hour drive south west from Wollongong, nearly 300 kilometres from Sydney and in a different regulated geographic state.[28] I regularly travelled between these centres, in addition to travelling to Adelaide to visit my family (a one-and-a-half hour plane trip from Canberra) and Perth to visit my husband's family (a five hour plane trip from Sydney). Each time I reached my destinations I was in a different television region, even though I was still in Australia, and I was addressed as a different viewer in these different televisual worlds. The contextuating programming of station IDs, however, always addressed me as being home, and at home, even when I was not. Prime Television's slogan in 2003, "Your home" literally suggests, with a linguistic pun, that the space of the Prime network is "home", and that watching Prime is being at home. In 2005, Prime's slogan, "Bringing it home to ME" performs a similar function although now the voice of the broadcaster ("your") becomes the voice of the viewer (ME!). Further, when I am not home, in other television regions, it is the specificities of contextuating programming that also confirm that I am away. I watch advertisements for summer clothing in Townsville, Queensland, when I still need to wear winter clothes in Canberra and advertisements for local events that will take place long after I have gone. The fact that I am only passing through is ignored and contextuating programming is not talking to me. Contextuating programming talks past me when I am not at home and produces the alienation that comes with being "other" and "foreign".

O'Regan (1993a) writes about the experience of Eric Michaels, an American, watching television in Brisbane, Australia. While Michaels:

> could watch the same US shows as his distant friends in Texas, the experience afforded him no sense of community with them. Australian program scheduling practices bore no relation to any US logic he understood....Michaels...had to work to find and follow the programs he wanted; and then when he found them there was

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[28] Specifically, a different territory as Canberra is in the Australian Capital Territory, one of two territories in addition to the five states of Australia.

also a problem with *how* they were presented. It was impossible for this expatriat
American to "go home". (pp. 15-16)

Michaels' experience is not unfamiliar to anyone watching television in locations other
than where they usually live and highlights just how specifically different the televisual
experience can be even when one is watching the programs one would normally watch at
home. Michaels' difficulty with *"how"* programs were presented was a difficulty with
contextuating programming which contextualised the programs to the local environment, in
his case, Brisbane, Australia. Because Brisbane was not Michaels' local environment, the
practices local to Brisbane television made him more aware that he was not at home.

While contextuating programming reminds us of where we are, it masks some of the
processes by which it gets to be where we are. O'Regan (1991) writes that Michaels
"concluded that Australians deluded themselves by thinking that their exposure to
American programming made them more American; rather it was doing something quite
different. It was making them more like Filipinos" (p. 11). O'Regan (1993a) explains that:

> Like the Filipino, the Australian audience watches a lot of US television, both
> countries' television imports many US program concepts and faces the same need to
> frame imported programs successfully, and both countries have political, historical
> and cultural ties with the US. (p. 16)

However, just as contextuating programming in Australia is specific to the Australian
television system, so too Filipino contextuating programming is specific to the Filipino
television system, with its own traditions and features. It is just as difficult to believe
Australians would become more like Filipinos as it is to believe that by watching American
programs, Australians would become Americans. It is the case that the Australian television
system, like that in the Phillipines, imports US programs after the big deals are made with
US advertisers and syndicate stations. This means that it does not matter too much to Sony
Pictures whether or not *Party of Five*, for example, rates well in Australia, or the
Phillipines, because it has already sold the package and taken the money. The price has

been paid for the program, regardless of how many viewers watch it in Australia and whether we watch or not bears little or no relation to the production of the show. Sony has already made their money from network and syndication sales in the US and sales to Australian broadcasters. What remains is for the local broadcaster here in Australia, Network Ten, to entice viewers to watch the program to entice advertisers to help them pay for purchasing it.

It does matter, however, to the local advertisers whether or not we watch television. Contextuating programming masks the international deals, but directly participates in the acts of enticing viewers who, if the numbers and demographic are attractive, will entice local and national advertisers to help the broadcasters both recoup their purchasing costs and make a profit above the purchasing costs. Contextuating programming operates as currency for the broadcaster and advertiser and it makes visible the deals that are made; it is the place where we see broadcaster and advertiser meet, shake hands and do some of their business. From this viewpoint contextuating programming is full of inducements to continue watching, to buy this or that, to be this or that kind of viewer, to be defined as particular kinds of subjects and citizens. Contextuating programming contains both strategies for enticing viewers to watch (station logos, IDs, stings, trailers and teasers) and enticing viewers to buy (advertisements), which in turn generates income for broadcasters which they can use to buy and produce more enticements. It is crucial therefore, whether it is watched or not, because of its relation to the production and distribution of products and consumers, and is one of the places where markets and publics intersect.

Advertising of products and services also tells us about where we are watching, or more accurately, what the broadcast reach of the network is. For example, television in Alice Springs includes advertisements for sheep products available in stores in Toowoomba. This service is not particularly relevant or convenient for Alice Springs viewers who would have to travel 1856 kilometres to purchase from the advertised stores, and who probably do not do too much sheep farming in the desert. However, the advertisements are relevant in that they identify and construct a relationship between Alice

Springs and Toowoomba viewers, directly addressing them as sharing the same televisual space.

Television Systems (1): Free-to-air Television and Pay TV

All broadcasters program contextuating programming and the ways in which it addresses, constructs and positions viewers correspond to the peculiarities and specificities of the broadcasting system. As I described in Chapter 2, the Australian television broadcasting system has a variety of systems operating within it. The major difference between the systems in Australian television is not, as might be imagined, along the lines of commercial and non-commercial/government sponsored television. Rather, when pay TV was finally introduced, the structural divide shifted such that it now corresponds to a previously unavailable choice related to consumer access. Therefore the differences in contextuating programming and its functions are related to the competing systems of free-to-air television and pay TV. These two competing television systems have many similarities but their contextuating programming addresses viewers and their practices as watchers and consumers in very different ways.

Both pay TV and free-to-air television contain a variety of systems within them. Both broadcast Government sponsored channels (for example, ABC on free-to-air television, BBC News on pay TV). Both pay TV and free-to-air television use commercial advertising, but the two systems use it differently. Commercial free-to-air television and pay TV are both systems driven by a profit imperative. The explicit function of commercial free-to-air broadcasters and the pay TV providers is to make a profit for their owners and shareholders. However, the way in which this revenue is collected differs across the systems. Primarily, commercial television sells airtime to advertisers and delivers audiences to advertisers through broadcasting programs they hope will attract viewers. Television scheduling in this economy contains advertisements for goods and services, which is programming that advertisers have paid for directly, in production costs and air time costs, and programming to keep us watching, which is programming paid for by the broadcaster using the money paid to them by the advertisers. Pay TV is also a commercial system and owners and shareholders collect revenue from viewer subscriptions in addition to goods and services advertising. In Australia, pay TV subscribers pay a monthly,

six-monthly or yearly fee in addition to a one-off connection fee. In an up-front subscription economy the economic relationship is therefore overtly between subscriber and service provider, while an indirect relationship exists between individual programs and viewers. That is, the programs broadcast by the pay TV provider are enticements to viewers to continue to subscribe, more than to remain watching a particular channel or program. Because of this different relationship between programs and viewers, ratings do not exist in the same way for pay TV as for free-to-air television. Free-to-air networks, even non-commercial or part commercial, exist in a ratings economy and need to justify their existence to advertisers, shareholders and owners, whereas pay TV does not need to participate in the same ratings economy. On free-to-air television, the various channels compete against each other for viewers, whereas on pay TV, it matters less what channel or program the viewer watches once they have paid their subscription fee.

Yet a similar commercial economy to ratings systems is at work on pay TV in relation to the practice of counting actual numbers of viewers, dividing those viewers into demographic categories, and then delivering products and programs to those demographics. Advertisers on free-to-air television can pick and choose individual programs based on audience research that confirms which demographics are watching particular programs, at particular times. Pay TV can organise viewer numbers according to subscription numbers without needing to track specific viewing patterns according to particular channels or even programs. Pay TV utilises niche casting to do the work of market analysis and devotes entire channels to particular markets. It can assume, for example, that children watch Nickelodeon and that women watch the Lifestyle Channel more than men. While pay TV channels are usually addressing a single demographic, all free-to-air channels provide a range of programs in an attempt to appeal to a range of markets.

Both free-to-air and pay TV broadcasters use contextuating programming between and during programming, but the two systems use it slightly differently. As mentioned in Chapter 1, commercial free-to-air television in Australia resembles US network broadcasting in that contextuating programming generally appears both within the featured program, and between programs. This is unlike the model of television operating in most

European television systems. French television for example locates it, more often than not, at the end of the featured programming. On French television an episode of a drama series, *ER* for example, will run with fewer contextuating programming breaks than in the Australian free-to-air television system. There might be one or two short contextuating programming breaks in the middle of the episode, usually promoting the station and upcoming programs, but generally the largest block of advertising of products and services occurs after the episode has ended and before the next program has begun. Pay TV resembles the European model, in that commercial advertising is more concentrated between programs. Pay TV too, generally limits the type of contextuating programming during programs to mainly station identifications, thereby addressing an audience (imagined to be) constantly flicking across the range of narrowcasting channels available to them in their subscription package, and possibly flicking over to free-to-air channels. In fact one of the selling points of pay TV has been to offer potential subscribers "better reception" of free-to-air television stations. In this way there is a direct acknowledgement by pay TV providers that their subscribers also watch free-to-air television, and free-to-air television is used to entice viewers to switch to pay TV. Nothing similar appears on free-to-air television other than the occasional advertisement for a pay TV provider such as Foxtel. In fact, free-to-air television often contains self promotional material, including advertisements promoting the digital features available to viewers who purchase set top boxes. The access to digital television technology, however, is automatic (for a fee) if one subscribes to pay TV. The features offered by subscribing to digital pay TV are far greater than those offered in the free-to-air television system which currently offers only improved sound and image. The pay TV digital environment has embraced multi-channelling and enhanced programming capabilities, while free-to-air television and its regulators continue to debate how they might introduce such features.

Morey (1981) writes that, "television networks are places; when tuned to a particular channel we are close to it, 'here' rather than 'over there'" (p. 15). However, while both free-to-air and pay TV broadcasters use contextuating programming to keep viewers "there", between the systems the "there" is different. On free-to-air, "there" is a specific station/network, in competition with another. Networks do not want you to change

channels; they want you to keep watching their menu of programs and advertisements. Pay TV wants you to keep subscribing to the package, but after each subscription is paid, which channels and programs you actually watch is less important. In the case of pay TV you have paid for the choice to watch whichever channels you like and it does not matter if you switch channels; the "there" is the particular pay TV service provider that exists in your area. In fact, currently it does not matter if you do not watch it at all. Ratings are less important to the survival of individual channels or programs on pay TV because individual channels and programs are not in competition with each. Once viewers have subscribed the deal is done. Thus, pay TV and free-to-air television address different communities of viewers, and address them in different ways through their contextuating programming.

Television Systems (2): Free-to-air Television: Commercial and Government Sponsored

As I outlined in Chapter 2, the free-to-air television system encompasses government sponsored (ABC), government and commercially sponsored (SBS) and commercial stations (Networks Seven, Nine and Ten and their metropolitan and regional affiliates), and there are differences in the ways in which commercial and government sponsored broadcasters use contextuating programming. In addition, the government sponsored networks, SBS and ABC, use contextuating programming differently again, partly due to economic reasons and partly due to reasons related to the concepts of their audience as outlined in their charters.

SBS

SBS does not exist to make a profit, but the use of paid sponsorship, previously not allowed, is now necessary for SBS to supplement reduced government funding. Contextuating programming, including commercial advertisements is broadcast "before or after programs or during natural breaks" (SBS, 2002, p. 18) and only five minutes of programming per hour can be advertising and sponsorship announcements. SBS does not include "publicity for SBS programs, products, services or activities" (SBS, 2002, p. 19) when calculating the five minutes per hour, yet SBS actively markets videos, DVDs and

CD merchandising related to their programming in addition to specialised services such as subtitling and captioning. Therefore, the actual amount of contextuating programming on SBS could be substantially more than five minutes per hour, when including advertisements for SBS products and services in contextuating programming calculations.

In Chapter 4 I discuss how contextuating programming on commercial free-to-air Network Seven constructs and addresses the nation through the example of the broadcasts of the Olympic Games. It is the case that all networks construct and present a form of the nation to viewers. Contextuating programming on SBS, for example, presents a coherent nationstate of Australia, which has no identifiable state borders. In SBS' Australia, there are differences in ethnicity within Australia, but not in what it is to be Australian. The SBS *Codes of Practice* (2002) states that:

> The principal function of SBS is to provide multilingual and multicultural radio and television services that inform, educate and entertain all Australians and, in doing so, reflect Australia's multicultural society. (Inside cover)

In support of this, the station IDs on SBS present a range of ethnicities and cultural identities within the Australian nation. Current station IDs show no people at all, using instead images of computer-generated insects including flies and mosquitoes, as SBS promotes its summer programming. Station IDs are usually non-site specific unless they are readily identifiable as being located in broad categories of places, for example, the city, the desert and the ocean, rather than specific locations. It is not surprising that SBS does not refer specifically to regions in its contextuating programming because it is the only network in the Australian television system that does not have a regional production presence. SBS broadcasts from Sydney, New South Wales, and presents itself as broadcasting from an integrated national space that disregards local specificity. SBS broadcasts to an imagined community of Australians, a national audience, diverse in cultural practices and without regional borders. SBS' role in presenting a coherent nation of difference and diversity is explicitly referred to in its "test" transmissions, the broadcasts before and after the daily schedules of programming. SBS' test card is not the scientific discourse of test cards of

early television where initially black and white circles, then later colour bars and transmission measurements, were broadcast. SBS uses instead a satellite image of the whole of the Australian continent, placing viewers within that coherent space, next to no-one, in the middle of the oceans, with current and looming weather patterns visible. This image is set to music which viewers can purchase, as the scrolling text banner along the bottom of the screen reminds us.

SBS news programming makes little reference to state issues; rather it presents itself as the gateway to the international space through its broadcasting of news programs, unedited, from international news sources. A typical broadcast morning on SBS includes the 20-40 minute news programs *Cantonese News*, *Mandarin News*, *Filipino News*, *Italian News*, *Das Journal*, *Spanish News*, *Le Journal*, *Russian News*, *Greek News*, *Arabic News* and *Indonesian News*. Collectively this programming is titled *Worldwatch* and SBS broadcasts these news editions as they are produced, that is, without any editorial control over the content. They therefore appear with the disclaimer announcing "that it [SBS] does not endorse the content". The SBS nightly news program, *World News Australia* is produced in Sydney, but broadcast nationwide and focusses heavily on world events rather than events in Australia.

Contextuating programming on SBS supports these programming selections and the meanings generated around them. SBS broadcasts *World Weather* fillers, which fill the broadcast time in between programs during *Worldwatch* programming. *World Weather* features a split-screen that is divided into two frames. The right-hand frame is a series of long-shots of "live" people in locations in cities around the world, under which text informs us of the city, its temperature in the last 24 hours, and its expected temperature. The left-hand frame contains scrolling text of the expected temperatures in cities around the world, and small graphics indicating additional information about the weather in each city, for example, sunshine, rain, or cloud. These fillers locate viewers within a worldwide television-space and support the *Worldwatch* programming.

Cunningham (1997) argues that SBS "has begun to operate as a second national network" (p. 102). However, I believe that because SBS bears no evidence of Australian regionality in its programs or station promotions and IDs, it is the only free-to-air national network. The same SBS programming is broadcast nationwide and all viewers of SBS receive the same programming no matter where they are located within Australia. With the absence of regional markers and variations and its emphasis on a particular kind of international programming and promotion of its programming as being "of the world", the local is the national is the global on SBS.

ABC

The ABC is more like commercial networks in its construction of local and national identities, particularly in its news programming. While seen as Australia's national broadcaster, the nightly ABC news service is articulated at a local level as each State produces and presents its own bulletin that emphasises State-relevant stories, with the result that most States broadcast a local inflection of a national bulletin. On four nights of the week, the nightly State-produced 7:00 p.m. news is followed by the *7:30 Report*, a current affairs program, produced in Sydney that is broadcast nation-wide. Controversy over the ABC's national and regional programming occurred in 2000 when the then managing director, Jonathan Shier, reduced the nightly national *7:30 Report* from five nights to four nights a week. On Friday nights, as noted in Chapter 2, the *7:30 Report* is replaced by *Stateline*, a current affairs program that is produced on a State by State basis. Emerson (2000) suggests that non-Sydneysiders might not have found the change such a bad thing, as criticism of the *7:30 Report* suggested that its focus was distinctly metropolitan and that it was neglecting issues relevant to other regions of Australia. The ABC is invested in representing an Australian nation comprising unique, yet united regions, as it must appeal and justify itself to viewers in all regions of Australia. Consequently, contextuating programming on the ABC, particularly station IDS, supports the investment in geographical borders (replicated in the various location-specific versions of programming) and a specific construction of regional/country and city (replicated in programs such as *Landline* focussing on "country" issues). Contextuating programming confirms these distinctions between national and regional identities, and acknowledges that ABC viewers are both. The

current IDs for the ABC feature "slice of life" footage with text superimposed describing the scene as "everyone's". Images of children playing cricket in a suburban street, juxtaposed with children playing cricket on a dusty (country/outback) road, becomes "everyone's street, everyone's ABC". In 2006, the ABC denotes its quality programming drawn from the best available globally with promos stating that "The world beckons. This is where it is."

What one watches on television, and the experience of watching television, is constrained by the peculiarities of the system of broadcasting in which one is watching. In Australia these peculiarities occur in government broadcasting policies and industry self-regulation that is specific to the Australian television broadcasting system, the differences between free-to-air and pay TV systems and between commercial and government sponsored networks. Contextuating programming reflects the complex relations between and across the variety of systems operating within the broader Australian television broadcasting system.

The Functions of Contextuating Programming

As I have outlined, what I am calling contextuating programming encompasses more than the traditional term of "continuity". Hartley (1992b) writes that continuity is:

> used to promote the channel that you're watching, the programmes[*sic*] you might watch on that channel, and to promote the country in which all this is happening….Its use value for the channel is strictly pedagogic: it teaches you what and when to watch; it teaches you how to watch, how to feel, what to look for, how to look. (p. 165)

Contextuating programming does all that Hartley describes and more. All broadcasters fill some of their broadcast time with contextuating programming which I am arguing contextualises and localises viewers and programs. Contextuating programming reminds viewers why and how they should watch particular stations and programs and it teaches viewers how to watch by instructing them in the rhythms of television local to the site of

viewing. In addition, contextuating programming, wherever it is broadcast, performs one, some, or all of the functions I will now describe.

Disruption and Cohesion

Contextuating programming gives viewers a break. No matter how small the block of programming, the fact that, from the viewer's perspective, it interrupts the program means that it literally is a break. In that break, contextuating programming "reinstates real time" and in doing so it "performs the rhetorical function of *anamnesis*—the opposite of forgetting—the function of *bringing to mind* [author's italics]" (Hartley, 1992b, p. 165). Contextuating programming punctuates television programs and, simply because it is there, louder and "other" to the program, it brings to mind that television viewing is situated within the everyday and amongst domestic duties and schedules. Thus watching contextuating programming brings to mind that it is time to check dinner, make a snack or cup of tea, pick up the kids, make a phone call, go to the toilet. Simultaneously, contextuating programming gives viewers a break from the program, whether or not they actually leave the viewing site to attend to other business.

Contextuating programming not only breaks programming, but also stitches programming together. The term "continuity", used in the television industry to describe some non-program material, brings with it the idea that the work of this material is to make the televisual flow continuous. Situated in between programs it stitches together disparate and discrete units of different generic material. One element of contextuating programming that performs this function specifically is the line-up card listing the next television session's programming. The card "Tonight on WIN" for example lists the evening's programs and their starting times ("7:30 *The Alice*, 8:30 *Who wants to be a Millionaire*, 9:35 *Cold Case*") and overtly functions to make disparate programs coherent in linear time. However, within the program, contextuating programming breaks the program into units. By instituting a break from the program, and that it does so repeatedly, contextuating programming can also be seen as an irritation as it disturbs the program flow.

The breaks, however, are not necessarily interruptive or disruptive. In many cases, the program that is bought by the television network has contextutaing programming breaks built into its very structure. Producers of television programs aim to have their program circulated in many television regions and make provision for the insertion of contextuating blocks indigenous to specific broadcast environments and the context-relevant meanings contained within them. Many televisual genres are written and designed with the breaks in mind. Televisual narratives revolve around the breaks and most dramas and sitcoms written for television are explicitly composed in segments that allow for breaks. Even genres that are not made for circulation outside of specific broadcast regions, such as locally produced television news, are structured and written around contextuating programming blocks, anticipating their existence and occurrence. In this context it is difficult to sustain the charge that contextuating programming interrupts programs. For there to be an interruption, there must have been a seamless flow, which simply does not exist in many television genres. However, viewers can still be irritated by the presence of the perceived interruption to the pleasure of watching programs.

Watching television also involves watching programs and genres that are not written for television, which therefore do not anticipate the presence of contextuating programming in quite the same ways as those genres that are specifically written for broadcasting. It is when watching programs that are not written for television that there is a visible tension between contexuating programming and the program material. For example, movies broadcast on television are inserted with pauses that are not present when they are screened at the cinema. As stations squash movies into their routine of 15 minutes of contextuating programming per hour, movies are not only interrupted, but also cut down to size to fit the programming schedule. Like any other genre on television, movies are literally written over by forms of contextuating programming including promotions for the channel being watched and for other programs shown on that channel. Televised sport is another genre where tension exists between the flow of the program material—the sporting event as it occurs outside of being televised—and its televisual interpretation. Replays of events show viewers actions that might have occurred during a break, and breaks are lengthened or shortened to suit the event. Contextuating programming appears written over

the program, acknowledging that there is an unknown element to how and when the sponsorship announcements and paid advertisements might be screened. Many sports have adopted and adapted a variety of techniques to accommodate the tensions between the actions of the sport and the broadcast context. In the coverage of Australian Football League games for example, contextuating programming has increased in frequency in terms of the number of times it is broadcast during a game, and decreased in length so that it can function in the very short time it takes after a goal has been kicked for the ball to actually get back into play. Every opportunity for contextuating programming to appear within a game is likely to be taken. In addition, football ovals have the names of major sponsors written into the grass, with, in some cases, that information being superimposed graphically by the local broadcaster to make it more locally relevant to the broadcast region. Similarly, cricket matches between competing countries often contain sponsorhip superimpositions that are specific to the country in which the broadcast occurs.

Despite its prevalence and frequency, contextuating programming is also risky for the broadcaster. In giving viewers a break, and in bringing to mind that there are duties to be performed beyond the television set, the break is a risk that the viewer might not return. Everyday demands might mean the viewer leaves watching television for that session or that a viewer might choose to remain watching television, but choose to leave the station. Remote controls and other technological advances encourage the browsing of other stations during the breaks. Hartley (1992b) writes that contextuating programming[29]:

> is vital to the interests of the broadcasters; they use continuity to keep you. It occupies the dangerous time when channel and viewer can go out of sync. [*sic*] with each other. (p. 165)

Because of the danger of losing you, contextuating programming also brings to mind that you have been watching a particular program on a particular station, and in between programs it reminds you that the program is over and will return, as long as you return to

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[29] Hartley refers to continuity. I am broadening the term to contextuating programming.

that particular station. Therefore contextuating programming also functions to anchor you to particular programs and stations. If it cannot keep you, contextuating programming at least tries to remind you and at best convince you to return. It attempts to lure you back, and, aware that you might be channel surfing, aims to seduce you as you flip for content. Contextuating programming also recognises that you might not be going anywhere at all, and beer logos and branding during sporting events, for example, acknowledges the "sitting-stillness" that could be taking place. Contextuating programming covers all bases as it talks to viewers as if they are moving, encourages viewers who are considering moving to stay, amd also addresses those who are staying still as being immobile.

In its attempts to keep, lure, seduce and anchor viewers, contextuating programming involves (in order of length of time on screen) stings, teasers and trailers of upcoming episodes and other programs viewers might enjoy to attract station loyalty. Program stings, teasers and trailers of other programs entice viewers to remain with the station while those for future episodes of programs viewers are already watching entice viewers to return. Contextuating programming also tries to keep you watching by making itself relevant to the particular location in which you are watching. Information pieces such as news and weather updates inform viewers about their immediate geographic environment, and neighbouring environments. Such pieces also reveal the complex relationships between networks and broadcast regions in television Australia, and in doing so, construct relationships between communitites of network viewers, watching in dispersed locations. Weather and news updates in Canberra, for example, can include those produced in Canberra which focus on Canberra and regions in the south-west of New South Wales, and also those produced in Sydney which focus on Sydney and the southern and northern coasts of New South Wales. SBS' news and weather updates focus on world news and weather in countries and cities around the world. In this way, broadcasters use contextuating programming to construct their place relationally within geographic locations, and position viewers within that place. As such, the broadcast-place becomes a local-place, and viewers there are locals in it. Contextuating programming, therefore, is engaged in a process of localisation as it addresses and positions viewers as located in the spaces—real, imagined and relational—it constructs.

Broadcast Borders and Places

One of the features of the Australian television system is its relative uniformity in programming strategies across networks and stations. Commercial free-to-air networks in Australia are extremely similar in their scheduling and the way in which the broadcast day is divided into day-parts. The broadcast day is broadly divided into prime time (6:00 p.m.–10:30 p.m.) and daytime (6:00 a.m.–6:00 p.m.), with further divisions that anticipate certain demographics watching at certain times of the day. For example, children's programs in the afternoon, leading into evening programming and adult programs after 8:30 p.m. Patterns of programming scheduled into the day-parts are repeated across stations and I discuss this feature further in Chapter 4. While the similarity and repetition of programming within the Australian television system is not unusual for terrestrial broadcasting, networks and stations expend great effort to distinguish themselves from each other through station IDs and other identifiers of "local flavour". Contextuating programming works hard in this area and helps to both construct and support station identity. Generally a station cannot change identities too much, or too quickly, or it risks losing its viewer base. Therefore station identities work with obvious subtlety. Network produced contextuating programming declares "I'm different, but not frighteningly so, so watch me", and all stations attempt to produce meanings that will resonate with core target groups. Station identity, through IDs, other self-promotional material and program menus, operates, for Ellis (2000), like a product brand. For Ellis (2000), "branding brings an element of reassurance into the increasingly complicated choices that viewers will have to make" (p. 169). However, I am not sure that viewers need such reassurance. Rather, I see station identity, or branding, as an attempt to stabilise what is commonly a mobile viewer, who is at ease with choice, change, and multiple viewing spaces, systems and identities.

Network Ten, however, has been trying something a little different with its branding and has been moving away from the traditional network programming practice of trying to provide something for all markets. Instead, it has been moving towards a pay TV model of niche programming, in an attempt to stabilise viewers in providing what it sees as a targeted menu of programs and a static identity. Ten's efforts to capture the youth demographic have resulted in an emphasis on youth programming and the station's

contextuating programming supports the move. Ten's station IDs are in opposition to those found on other networks and have, over the last few years, promoted youth, vibrancy, dance party culture, skateboarding and other activities associated with youth-cool. The difference in station IDs that appear on Network Ten is more apparent than any difference in programming across the networks. Station IDs, by promoting each station and network as unique, attempt to disguise the actuality of programming similarities across terrestrial scheduling. IDs have to change with the times however, and each New Year allows broadcasters to ring in a new look. In addition, rare, special or celebratory events are opportunities for stations to overhaul their image. For example, the turn of the century and the beginning of the new millennium in 2000 enabled all television stations to reinforce or renew their logos and IDs. The celebration of 50 years of television in Australia has begun and Channel Nine is running promotions that feature montages of various programs screened on Nine over the 50 years. One montage features the Channel Nine slogan, "We're still the one", and conflates Nine with television in Australia. Media events such as the Olympic Games are also opportunities for broadcasters to recreate themselves, or at least promote a new look or program line-up as I will discuss in Chapter 4.

Contextuating programming works to promote variation amongst sameness in an attempt to mark out broadcast borders and identities. Therefore some of the work of contextuating programming is in marking out the differences between Channels Ten and Seven for example, to some extent regardless of where you are geographically located. The major distinction to be made at this level, from the broadcaster's point of view, is that you are not somewhere else in the choice of television stations. Contextuating programming is part of the "effort to establish the broadcasting institution and its (ephemeral, transient) products as physical entities with a particular location" (Morey, 1981, p. 14). To encourage viewers to stay where they are, networks and stations must build an identity for themselves and make that identity relate to a place to be and therefore somewhere to stay and return to. The particular program purchase choices made by stations and networks are part of their identity as the programs on offer build a recognisable menu of what viewers will find when they visit a particular station- and network-space. Contextuating programming complements the program menu and supports the station identity that comprises variously,

and simultaneously, a national identity (Australian), a network identity (Seven, Nine, or Ten Network), and a regional and networked identity (Seven in Canberra is Prime). Contextuating programming constructs the station as a place to be, and reminds viewers of where they are watching through the repetition of station and network IDs, some of which feature station and network stables of celebrities and images of locations within the network's broadcast reach.

Watermarks

Watermarked logos also remind viewers of where they are in the broadcasting system. Watermarks such as the Prime or Seven logos that appear in the corner of the television broadcast and superimposed over the program material, mark distinctions within a system of similarity in programming. The introduction and proliferation of watermarks, particularly on free-to-air television where they have not always been present, can be seen to be an acknowledgement of the change in the Australian television broadcasting environment since the introduction of pay TV. Pay TV has brought many more program and channel choices to viewers and pay TV programs are punctuated more briefly and more often by logo contextuating programming. On pay TV these can be anything from short sound bites, as featured on the E! network, where the sound of the letter "E" with the image of the network logo ("E!") is the bite, to five-second fillers as those found on UKTV, for example, with its images of the British national flag. These elements of contextuating programming function to remind remote flipping audiences that they have arrived in the pay TV system and that they are watching particular channels within that system. Logos and watermarks are constant reminders of location, of where you are at least in terms of other communities (channels/systems) you could be visiting and/or of which you could be a member. When viewers change channels, as viewers do, the watermarks are the light that has been left on for when you come home.

All commercial free-to-air stations now use watermarks, but they are not all the same and they do not all appear in the same way at the same time. The watermark of WIN (Nine, regional) usually appears in the bottom right of the screen, using the letters "WIN" over a map of Australia, literally locating WIN across the country. This logo can be quite

spectacular when it appears as it imitates a lit fuse that burns brightly in the corner as the image is drawn, before fading into the watermark for the duration of the program. WIN has a separate watermark for sports programs, which appears in the top right of the screen, locating "WIN" over an elongated world globe. In this example, WIN sports programs and viewers are globally articulated. Ten's watermark usually appears on the bottom left of the screen, but in the 2000 Olympics coverage in Alice Springs it appeared in the top right of the screen, which is where Seven Network metropolitan and regional affiliates usually place their watermarks. Watermarks during sports programs on Ten appear in the top right hand corner as does the watermark for the ABC. The ABC rarely explicitly refers to its name in its watermarks, using instead the familiar icon of three intersecting waveforms. The consistent feature of watermarks is in their usage and all stations now literally brand their purchases (programs) with these identifiers.

Co-presence and Spatiality

All broadcasters are in the business of competing for viewers. They are also invested in marking out identities and offering promises and talking to viewers to ask them to stay and to keep them watching. The station ID becomes the voice of the station-space as it talks to us "personally" with its direct address. Ellis (2000) describes this aspect of television as co-presence. He writes that "live performance gave television a direct and intimate link with its audience" but "nowadays, paradoxically virtually no television is live apart from the news" (p. 33)[30]. He continues:

> Programmes [*sic*] adopt the rhetoric of liveness without being literally live.
> Presenters still adopt the stance of direct address. Not only do they look directly
> into the camera and adopt a casual person-to-person form of speech, they also use
> all the indicators of co-presence. They talk of "now" and "today", "here" and "we";
> they use the present tense. They use all those speech indicators whose meaning is
> context-dependent in order to orient themselves as speaking in the same moment of
> time as their audience hears them. Other indicators of co-presence include the

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[30] Bourdon (2004) argues that "liveness" exists in sequences of shows, not entire shows, particularly in what he calls continuity programs, which, for him are the "as if live" genres of game, variety and talk shows.

repeated buttonholing of the viewer: "Stay with us", "Coming up", "Soon", the indicators of a shared continuity of experience. (Ellis, 2000, p. 33)

Much the same can be said for contextuating programming. As I have suggested in renaming this non-program material, contextuating programming also activates meanings that are "context-dependent". Contextuating programming, like the presenters on television, uses direct address and suggests a co-presence with the viewer, and the language Ellis describes is also the language of contextuating programming—station IDs announcing "Coming Up Next", "Tonight on WIN", "Returning in September". Wilson (1995) explains that:

> Television's references in continuity announcements to proximity and distance often bear no relationship to the "real" spatio-temporal origins of textual content. Instead, they are used to construct a space and time for familiar address "here" and "now", an address which eventually allows a parting between "friends" until "tomorrow". (p. 35)

However, this community of friends in this constructed space and time has direct reference to the " 'real' spatio-temporal" context of reception. During these moments of contextuating programming, broadcasters are not only "speaking in the same moment of time as the audience hears them" but also, I am suggesting, speaking in the same locations as viewers. Contextuating programming is where viewers and broadcasters are co-present in time and space, and viewers are positioned as being co-located with the station, the network, the television system, and the communities of program watchers.

The "where" of watching television is multi-spatial. While we think of watching television in a specific location—our living room in our home, or with friends in their home, for example—we are also present in other places. We are watching in particular locations that are constituted by legislation and geography (states, cities, towns), and we are watching in particular television-places; station-spaces, network-spaces to which stations are connected, and the geographic regions of broadcast reach that are limited and defined

by regulations and technological capabilities. The "where" of watching television is not just the place of a particular station, for example Channel Ten, which is in turn located in a place of "not other channels", but also the place of the specific location of the viewing site, for example Wollongong, and consequently the where of "not elsewhere". Contextuating programming, not unlike the tourist information maps that appear on the highway at the entrance to towns, informs viewers about these places and positions and locates viewers as being there. These places are connected such that in contextuating programming they become localised as one place which is usually a specific geographically located television-place (Nine in Adelaide, or Prime/Seven in Canberra, for example) and viewers watching are positioned as local to that place.

Contextuating programming not only performs a localising function, that of positioning viewers as local to the site of broadcast, but also a relational function, that of positioning viewers relationally to other sites, places and viewers. Contextuating programming relates local communities to national and global communities of viewers and consumers and it invites viewers to be members of all those communities. It does this by addressing viewers as regular viewers of certain programs, and addressing viewers simultaneously in the singular and plural form of "you", such that it must be assumed by an individual viewer that they are part of a wider viewing community at national and international levels. The language of co-presence collects all within it into the same space, as it addresses viewers as "you" and the station and its viewers as "we". The language of co-habitation appears as Prime sings to us "There's no other place we'd rather be, it's where we live, and that's Prime" and their written logo tells us "This is where we live: Prime". While Prime broadcasts from Alice Springs to southern New South Wales, to almost all of Western Australia, and in New Zealand, all Prime viewers are addressed as living in the same Prime place, while simultaneously being addressed as being local to that place. Where you are matters in these linguistic addresses, for networks must address viewers as uniquely local individuals to be relevant to local advertisers, while also relationally as members of a network family to be able to guarantee they will return. The slogans and jingles of station IDs reinforce the concept of the station-place, and work to convince us why we should stay or at least return to that place, because: "There's no hotter

place" (Ten), "There's no other place we'd rather be" (Prime/Seven), and "We're still the one" (WIN/Nine).

Contextuating programming also addresses viewers as being members of a range of communities through both the selections of goods and services advertised and also the ways in which these goods and services are advertised as they offer meanings intended for the specific local and national culture in which they are broadcast. Similarly, the contextuating programming genre of news and weather updates suggests coherent larger communities outside the immediate viewing geography. News and weather updates place viewers in relation to other geographies, while simultaneously suggesting communities of viewers elsewhere watching the same programs and having similar tastes. Therefore, contextuating programming is also relational programming as it works to suggest relationships between programs and viewers, places and peoples.

The multi-layered space of "watching television" is reinforced by contextuating programming that: locates viewing practices within a specific place (which becomes identified as a place to which one can become a local); defines the location of the specific place relationally to other places; and, reminds viewers that they are in that place and addresses them as being there. These places and relationships between places can change as television station and network ownership change, advertisers buy more time on different stations and relationships between stations and networks change. However, contextuating programming assists in the construction of the multi-placed-one-place that is the where of watching television. The television-space is an interconnected matrix of many places simultaneously and contextuating programming presents these places relationally to viewers, and addresses them as members of these communities. Because of the various genres within contextuating programming, and because individual instances can refer to one or many different places, contextuating programming also articulates connections and differences between city and regional spaces, and between local, global and international communities (among others).

Network Territories

Networks and affiliates use contextuating programming to mark out their territory. In Chapter 2, I summarised the changes to the Australian television broadcasting system in the 1980s, including changes in network and affiliate ownership, and the introduction of satellite transmission (AUSSAT). O'Regan (1993a) writes of the changes in ownership of the time and the resultant networking, and maps these changes to a change in the station IDs that are a part of contextuating programming. He writes:

> As late as early 1989, the metropolitan commercial stations celebrated their regional
> existence in television continuity as local images were presented with lyrics
> declaring "Love you Brisbane" (or Perth or Melbourne etc). Such regional
> identifications of the service were replaced by more abstract continuity using
> Australian map designs, in Network Nine's case linking together the major cities.
> (O'Regan, 1993a, pp. 29-30)

In this context, O'Regan writes that, "increasingly, local and regional identifications found their place within a network of national images and image-making" (1993a, p. 30). The regional identifications that O'Regan argues were diminishing do not, however, disappear. It is precisely because local images and national images co-exist within contextuating programming, that I argue that viewers are offered a range of connected and overlapping identities during this programming. Even with networking and the move to represent a networked television Australia in station IDs, many metropolitan and regional stations continue to address viewers in their station IDs as being both members of local communities and also as locals within a broader network of communities, including a national community. Further, in some IDs, as in those for Adelaide's Nine Network for example, much is made of the fact that the station is local, with visual and verbal signs of local-ness ("Local-yeah we're local") which work to validate the station's authenticity. The Nine logo used in the IDs, however, is of the National Nine Network, and the promo for the Adelaide version of the news program is still titled *National Nine News*. These features and practices of contextuating programming link viewers relationally to various communities by addressing them as members of local, national and global communities. That is,

contextuating programming makes all programming local to the site of viewing and connects that site to the immediate local community and the wider national and global communities. For example, Nine in Adelaide to the Nine Network nationally, and to the national and global communities watching the same programs and buying the same products.

Many station IDs use images of spaces and landmarks local to the area of broadcast and therefore address viewers as locals while simultaneously constructing that local space to include other viewing sites. For example, the WIN network (the Nine Network regional affiliate) has markets in New South Wales, Victoria, Queensland, Tasmania, South Australia and Western Australia. It provides local news services to Cairns, Townsville, Rockhampton, Sunshine Coast, Toowoomba, Wollongong, Orange, Wagga Wagga, Canberra, Griffith, Mildura, Ballarat, Bendigo, Shepparton, Albury, Gippsland, Mt. Gambier, Loxton, Launceston and Hobart. Images of the towns and cities within its broadcast reach are used in station IDs to introduce viewers to this broadcast region, and therefore also to each other under their slogan "Our Territory". Such station IDs indicate to viewers that elsewhere within the vast broadcast region, there are others watching what they are watching and possibly therefore doing what they are doing. Concepts of the local—and the home—are expanded in contextuating programming to include localities and viewers who are spread throughout the country. In this way contextuating programming is broadcasters speaking to their audience reach, inscribing the broadcasting context, nationally and regionally, as local and as home. The stations within the network-home, and the cities, towns, States, countries, and consumer communities referred to in contextuating programming are connected, relationally, to the local television space. In this way, the local is an active, movable, relationed identity. There are limitations to the identity-construction, however, as my experiences in Paris and San Francisco demonstrated. The relationships suggested by contextuating programming resonate with the broader cultural context in which television is operating, particularly the specific practices attached to a nation's television system. Contextuating programming's address implies a viewer is experienced in the local practices of the national system and the network- and station-space in which it occurs. As I experienced in Paris and San Francisco, when viewers

are not familiar with those local practices, contextuating programming speaks over them, aimed at its intended audience of locals situated within its space.

The Wollongong Fillers

Contextuating programming addresses viewers as local, and introduces viewers to their neighbours. During the years I worked in Wollongong, my home was in Sydney, and then Canberra, so I rented a room in Wollongong during the week and drove home for weekends. The nights I was in Wollongong I could still keep up with my favourite shows because the regional affiliates in Wollongong broadcast the same programs as the metropolitan stations and in this respect, watching television was the same whether I was in Wollongong, Sydney or Canberra. However, the contextuating programming addressed me as a different viewer, as a particular local, in each particular place of viewing, while also promoting each place as a desirable place to be locally situated.

In order to study how contextuating programming promotes the idea of a local place, I decided to analyse one specific genre of contextuating programming found on television in Wollongong, that of the filler. Fillers are, from the station's perspective, literally used to fill up the broadcast space that might appear when there is no advertisement, promo or program to be screened. Despite the use of regimented timing in scheduling television programming, there is still the odd occasion when scheduled material does not quite fill the television hour or half-hour. Fillers are short in length, from a few seconds to half a minute and are a contingency for the broadcaster, existing to ensure that there is no "dead air" transmitted. While the broadcasters use them to fill a gap, fillers also perform the important functions of building the station identity, confirming the station identity and directly addressing viewers. As they build the station identity, fillers also speak specifically about the reach of the station, that is, about the viewers who are located within the broadcast range, and about the broadcast range. Some fillers speak to the wide reach of the Network, and hence, they tend to use the celebrity stable of the station to confirm the station identity. Additional fillers, usually those produced by the affiliate stations, refer directly to the regions, places, cities and towns within that reach and locate them all within the network-space. Fillers tell us about the local-space of television, the station and the

location in which we are watching, and the relationships between spaces and stations. For example, a filler might identify the station being watched as Channel Ten, but might also identify the location of the station (for example Ten in Wollongong), and in doing so it reveals a relationship between Network Ten and the Wollongong affiliate, while also naming the geographic location. Other fillers on the same station might reveal other cities within the broadcast reach of Wollongong Ten, and in doing so, other viewers within the reach are relationally suggested, located in cities, towns and regions in the Wollongong Ten station-space.

I selected the fillers broadcast on Channel Ten for my analysis, obtaining a tape of the "Wollongong Fillers" from Ten Capital in Wollongong. There are four fillers in total and they use local images that as a Wollongong viewer I was expected to resonate with. The fillers are titled by number and labelled with "cart" numbers for station library cataloguing. All fillers have the logo for Ten Capital in the bottom left hand corner of the screen. This logo is not watermarked but branded: that is, it is superimposed over the images, erasing those beneath it, for the duration of the fillers. Wollongong Filler No. 1 (cart no. 5020) is footage of a fishing boat that fades into an image of a boy surfing. This image fades into one of a boy sitting on his surfboard waiting for a wave and there is a large ship in the background. This image fades into an image of three surfers silhouetted against the sunset, holding their surfboards on dry land. The soundtrack consists of three lines of sparse, calming pan-flute music. The filler lasts 10 seconds. Wollongong Filler No. 2 (cart no. 5021) begins with a close-up of a seagull that fades to an image of the ocean with houses and apartment blocks in the background, which fades into a pan up of the local lighthouse. The soundtrack is slightly eerie but also has a new age, mystical feel to it. This filler also lasts 10 seconds. Wollongong Filler No. 3 (cart no. 5022) begins with an image of the Wollongong Harbour lighthouse at dusk, fading into a midshot of the ocean lapping the shoreline. This image fades into a longshot of the Port Kembla Steelworks with smoke billowing and lights aglow. The soundtrack is eerier still with an underlying low hum and a guitar playing three notes over the top of this mix of electronic and acoustic sounds. This filler also lasts for 10 seconds. Finally, Wollongong Filler No. 4 (cart no 5023) is an image of a fishing boat near a jetty fading into footage of a pelican next to the same jetty, which

fades into the same fishing boat at sea with housing on the shore visible in the background. This image fades into the pelican swimming in between two fishing boats. These images are also filmed at dusk, but this time the soundtrack is almost anthemic with more instruments giving it a more joyous sound. It also appears to be in a major key and, for me, the soundtrack has the effect of being moving, relaxing and beautiful.

Fillers explicitly function on one level as postcards, scenic shots of the local community. Their work is to mark the identity and locality of the station and its viewers, anchoring certain meanings about a place to images. They appear to work so well that they are changed or updated infrequently, and in this case the Wollongong fillers, filmed in 1995, were screened for more than five years. These fillers suggest a variety of identities possible in relation to the Wollongong region and use images of surfers, the steelworks and the harbour, which are obvious choices for those who know the area. The area from Stanwell Park to Wollongong is very scenic with its population settled between the escarpment and the sea. The beaches are beautiful and there is a visible surf culture. The BHP (Broken Hill Proprietary Limited) steelworks at Port Kembla is the largest employer in the region, and while it scars the natural landscape with its smoke, steel and noise, it is an important site for Wollongong locals. Conversely, there are obvious gaps in the choices made in producing these televisual postcard representations of the community. Wollongong has an extremely diverse population, with many ethnicities visible in the community, but not visible in the fillers. The University of Wollongong is the second largest employer in the region and works to keep the unemployment rate down as locals become students. This aspect of Wollongong is not represented in the fillers. One does not have to look too closely when in Wollongong to find that the area has its pockets of social issues that can make it a place to leave rather than a place to be for some people. The area has a significant problem with drug use and abuse and a history of grisly murders. I do not really expect to see these aspects of Wollongong life represented in these fillers but their absence is as significant as those images presented. The selections confirm that fillers are not only promotions for the television station but also advertisements for particular attributes of the area and the communities within it. The fillers address viewers in particular ways in their

representations of the region and serve to domesticate the region in order to promote it as one where surf culture, coal-mining and a pristine environment can co-exist harmoniously.

Extraordinarily, Ten in Wollongong actually broadcasts out of Canberra. The Ten Capital logo, present in all the fillers, confirms that Wollongong is part of the Ten Capital family (now Southern Cross Ten), specifically the Canberra affiliate station of the Ten Network. Channel Ten in Canberra broadcasts the same programs as metropolitan Ten stations, but to some extent it does not have to, it chooses to. Almost all affiliates are separately owned stations to the networks and Ten in Canberra has a library full of fillers of places within its reach; Eden, Berry, Northeastern Victoria, Canberra. Every so often viewers in Wollongong are introduced to places within the regional affiliate broadcast reach, reminding them that the are part of that community too. What viewers in Wollongong will not see are fillers for Adelaide, Sydney, Perth, and other places that are not part of the regional network family, so they are also reminded, by their absence, of where particular communities begin and end in terms of television broadcast geography. This televisual geography is very different to the way in which Australia is divided into States and contextuating programming plays a crucial part in marking out this alternative geography and the consequent relationships between places and people within it.

The fillers are quite possibly the most expensive thing Ten produces and the few people working at Ten in Wollongong collect local news stories and make those fillers. That there is not a great deal of production output is not unique to Wollongong or Channel Ten, which, like most commercial television stations, buys more programming than it produces. The majority of programming produced by commercial free-to-air television stations in Australia is news and sport, including news, weather and sports updates. In addition, stations spend large amounts of money producing their identities and versions of them through station IDs and fillers, in the hope that viewers will identify with the station and visit the station-place.

Trailers

It is difficult to be a dedicated, exclusive, local viewer in a television environment of choice and competition, and in a televisionscape where mobility is easy. The effort that broadcasters invest in constructing a specific local viewer such as a Channel Ten viewing identity might be seen to be wasted as viewers constantly change stations and networks. The act of changing stations constitutes a shift in space, place and identity. Broadcasters recognise this and therefore, having established themselves as the place to be, networks reward viewers for being there. Contextuating programming addresses us as loyal viewers and rewards us for watching by the use of trailers which inform us about next week's show, and offer us other products we might like, and advertise the range of programs offered by a station. For Hartley (1992b) too, the advertisements for programs, the trailers, are a reward for the viewer. Hartley describes their function as promising a future, or, what he calls, "windscreenwiperism". He writes that "trailers are dialogic, participatory, explicit about who's talking to whom, ephemeral, conversational, focusing our attention on our personal future (will I, won't I?)" (Hartley, 1992b, p. 168).

Trailers are also part of a station's identity as they promote the programming to be found on the station, and advertise the station at the same time. Thus, contextuating programming is also pedagogic in its delivery of scheduling practices of the station. It tells us what programs are coming up, in the next hour, the next week, over the next week, or coming soon. The language of this function is endorsed in the repeated and therefore identifiable voiceover of a station. This nameless and faceless voice (usually male), speaks to us most often at the end of programs as it spruiks the station's wares through the program trailers. Morey (1981) also sees trailers as an example of broadcasters talking to audiences:

> Broadcasting institutions make use of continuity sequences to engage directly with the audience, communicating with the consumers of their images in ways remarkable for their directness. (p. 5)

As such, trailers contain much more than programming information. More specifically, and more often, the trailers of contextuating programming also present viewers with information concerning the station-place and invoke other members of that station-place community. Trailers, and station IDs and fillers work alongside each other and other elements of contextuating programming. Trailers are part of the process by which contextuating programming stitches viewers into multiple network, channel, program, national, local and international spaces and communities and addresses them all as specifically located and relationally connected.

Contextuating Programming as Transitional Programming

Program Credit Sequences

Contextuating programming also performs the function of transitional programming as it functions as a bridge from one program to the next and transports viewers to either or both of those programs. Between programs, contextuating programming includes program credit sequences, including those which regularly appear superimposed over the program image. Program credits are not imposed by the local broadcast context, but by the production context, and, as such, position viewers in relation to the program in relation to production contexts. Therefore, I include them in my typlogy of contextuating programming.

Program credits are often sequences of images and lists that with refer to particular aspects of the program's production. For example, program credits can include lists of people who acted or appeared in the program, in addition to—or in place of—lists of people and companies who assisted in other ways in the program's production, such as finance companies, or city councils who gave permission for filming at particular sites. Program credits can also include lists of songs and musical items and the artists who performed them, in addition to lists of visual material such as archival footage and photographs that appeared in a program, and the companies that gave permission for the material to be used. The program credits themselves act as location markers, as people involved in the production and distribution of the program, and where they are

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geographically located are explicitly referred to by this element of contextuating programming.

Most programs are produced outside of the station-place, that is, not by the station, and therefore almost all programming can be seen as "foreign" to the station-place. Yet, most credit sequences contain other elements of contextuating programming that have been layered over the sequence by the broadcaster. Logos for the station-place, voiceovers that are located in the station-place and split-screen advertising of program line-ups are some of the ways in which credit sequences can be localised, and integrated, into the immediate station-place of the broadcaster. Consequently, while credit sequences that occur in between programs made elsewhere can be seen to be working to transition viewers from foreign space to foreign space, it can also be argued that the layering of contextuating programming features from the station-place localise the transition. The superimposition of voices, words and accents that are from the local station-place functions simultaneously to reinforce the local and to differentiate that from the not-local by promoting the network- and station-spaces as local places. Even programs made in Australia are a little bit foreign, made in the space of production and distribution companies as indicated by their logos that identify their otherness like car registration plates that tell us there is an out of town driver in our area. A local voice layered over a credits sequence functions to remind us of where we are (Ten, Australia), where we are not (Los Angeles, Century City) and where the program is from (various places, producers, distribution companies).

Further, credit sequences themselves can be locally inscribed, or more accurately inscribed for local contexts. That is, similar to the way in which many programs circulating internationally are dubbed by local broadcasters into the local languages of the broadcast region, credit sequences too undergo a process of localisation and customisation to the local context. The animated series *The Simpsons*, for example, is dubbed into many languages for distribution around the world, including into Quebecoise French for screening in Canada. As such, the credit sequences reflect this process of localisation as they include the change of name from *The Simpsons* to *Les Simpsons*, and the titles, credits text and theme song are transformed into the language of the broadcast region. Program credits therefore

are part of contextuating programming and work to transition viewers across programs by locating them in the familiar station-place and to speak to viewers of their location in that place and to point relationally to other viewers in other television spaces.

Program Choices

Programs produced in the US, when broadcast in Australia, are screened within an Australian television broadcast context and exist alongside shows made in Australia, Britain and, when on SBS, those made in a variety of countries. As O'Regan (1991) writes:

> [Australia] has always been a good place to watch American and British TV without having to live with the everyday problems of life in Los Angeles, Washington or Birmingham. Since the advent of SBS it's also been a good place to watch a fair amount of world TV. We are lucky that our TV is not as parochial and inwardly-focused as British, American and Japanese TV. For Australians, locally-produced programming is just one more program choice. (pp. 12-13)

Similarly, American shows are one choice among many on Australian television. Contextuating programming links these program choices together and in doing so participates in the construction of a communal space in television that can be visited from Canberra, Wollongong, Sydney, San Francisco, and Paris. But while a communal program space can be visited from various sites, the television citizen that can act globally with a global consciousness, knowing that there are others out there watching the same thing, is not necessarily a secure identity. To watch the communal space from different places is unsettling and destabilising precisely because the contextuating programming of each instance is differently configured, and speaks of the context in which the viewer is located. Even watching the same programs on television in Canberra and in Sydney will unsettle viewing identities as contextuating programming speaks of and to the different cities and viewers within them. Local advertisements for specific localities might also be seen to be a bid to remember how good being where you are is. As I demonstrated with the example of the Wollongong fillers, aspects of contextuating programming are also promotions for the station-place and the locality in which viewing occurs. Each national television system

inflects its contextuating programming with its own versions of nation-building and promotion and the local flavour of contextuating programming also functions as a reassurance of where we are and who we are while there, while also an acknowledgement of the global environment of television.

Transitional Contextuating Programming Between "News at 4:30"
*and "M*A*S*H"*

The space in between programs functions like a transit lounge and the pressure is on as viewers shuffle about deciding where to go next. Across stations, start times of programs are tampered with as broadcasters hope some viewers will miss their connection, and know that some will be late to arrive. Occasionally, strapped for time, there is very little contextuating programming in this transition-space, other than the most important element of all contextuating programming: the broadcaster's logo, ID or jingle. While contextuating programming occurs transitionally both between programs and within programs, Hartley (1992b) defines the space between programs as a threshold, and that this is where the celebration occurs, "with full fanfare, confetti everywhere" (p. 165). On Australian television currently, however, particularly in prime time, there appears to be a move away from lengthy transitions across thresholds. Possibly because of competition with pay TV, thresholds can now be quite abrupt, almost cutting directly between programs with only a station ID between them, almost daring the viewer to leave. There is still confetti, the fanfare of the station ID, but the celebration is much shorter. In all cases, however, contextuating programming addresses viewers who are thinking of leaving, those who are staying, and those who are arriving and is the voice that tells us, at least, where we are and, often, why we should stay.

Contextuating programming transitions viewers from one space to others, from program to program, and also from program segment to program segment, stopping along the way to remind viewers of their localised site of viewing through advertisements of products locally available, and by the practice of surrounding imported programs with local voices and images. Contextuating programming assists in the movement across genres, times and programs and functions to simultaneously offer and reinforce identities, to

congratulate loyalty and to remind and support viewers of their location in a variety of communities, not least of which is a "national" community of Australians located relationally within an international televisionscape.

In the following examples, I analyse contextuating programming as transitional programming; firstly between two programs, the Ten Network's afternoon news service, *News at 4:30*, and the comedy/drama series *M*A*S*H* and secondly, within the program *M*A*S*H*. The broadcast occurred on Thursday August 18, 2005 in Canberra on Prime, a Seven Network affiliate. I have chosen this example in part because of its ordinariness. The transition from Australian program to American program is a common occurrence on Australian television. However, it can also be seen as a transition in space, from Australia to the US. In this particular example, the transition from an Australian news program to a re-run of an American series is also a shift to the space Korea—the space of the narrative—and also as a transition in time, from the now of "Australian" news back in time to the Korean War of the 1950s as represented in the US series produced between 1972 and 1983.

Further, the broadcast time of the transition from the end of the news program to the beginning of *M*A*S*H* takes place at 5:00 p.m. which is a transition across the broadcast day-part of afternoon/children's programming to the lead in to prime time programming. As programming moves towards prime time, it begins to address viewers as shifting into different patterns and rituals of everyday life, and generally anticipates that viewers are returning home from work or elsewhere and are beginning to settle into evening routines and preparations. In this particular example, the transition from children's programs to adult programs has already begun with the broadcast of the *News at 4:30* with its anticipated adult audience. Therefore the transition I have selected is operating across space, time, ritual, routine and demographic. The space shift speaks to and positions viewers as part of a wider national audience and involves an identification with and construction of a National Seven Network viewer. Each piece of contextuating programming addresses a fragmented audience, yet put together the transitional contextuating programming constructs and addresses an "Australian" identity, which is led

into "foreign" program-space. The time shift addresses viewers as located in the now, securing the program content past within the broadcast present. The ritual shift addresses viewers as moving from day into evening and as considering the evening's entertainment, and confirms the programming has moved to the adult world. A general description of this section of programming follows (see Appendix 1 for log of broadcast segment):

4:57:22 p.m.	Final segment of *News at 4:30* Announcer: "See you at the same time tomorrow". Credits and music
4:57:46 p.m.	Prime news update
4:58:15 p.m.	Ad: Good Guys (home appliances)
4:58:30 p.m.	Ad: Domino's Pizza (food)
4:58:45 p.m.	Ad: Flight Centre (travel)
4:59:15 p.m.	Station ID (Prime)/Promo for program: *Lost*

The borders between *News at 4:30* and *M*A*S*H* are logos and themes, conventions that signal beginnings and endings within the flow (Williams 1974) of television. The closing credit for *News at 4:30* contains theme music while an inset screen replays images from one of the news stories. A viewer tuning in to watch *M*A*S*H* will know that *News at 4:30* is over because the theme music announces the transition. The closing credit image also contains material that informs viewers of a number of relationships they are implicated in. The Prime watermark appears in the top right hand corner, indicating that we are in Prime territory, even though we have just watched a Seven, not Prime, news program. The branded material, at the bottom of the screen, and covering approximately 1/6th of the screen space tells us: "7 NEWS© 2005, with NBC, BSYKB, CNN, APTN & REUTERS, seven.com.au/news". This information speaks of relationships between Prime and Seven, between Seven and international news channels and resources, and between television and the web. The appearance of the logo with copyright symbol and date locates the program in a specific time and space as a national show produced in Australia, and one which utilises international connections. The presence of signs that indicate international relationships works to validate some of the program content. It is also a sign of work and effort by the station, and a suggestion that it has selected the best

material and information from the resources available. In addition, the signs of international connections situate the viewer not only locally but also in a wider, international context.

The local Prime news update follows, using the same music theme as *News at 4:30*, locating the update relationally within the same space as the Seven News program just screened. We are positioned now within the very local place of the regional affiliate, which is bringing not only the next program to us, but also the news services of the Network. In less than one minute we hear stories that are "Making Prime news…" which are actually stories that are making Canberra news as this update is locally produced and is focussed exclusively on stories that are local to Canberra. Full of layered text, this quick update begins with a card announcing "Prime News", a banner on the bottom of the screen authoring the update with the announcer's name and another reminder that we are watching "Prime News", and an enhancement indicator, "CC", indicating that the broadcast has been "closed captioned" for hearing impaired viewers. Finally the announcer simultaneously promotes both the next news update and a program on Seven by saying: "More news during *Home and Away*". Prime produces news and weather updates, not full service news programs, but in this address to viewers, the news update, which is a part of contextuating programming, acquires the status of a program as its next screening is advertised.

The next short sequence of advertising addresses viewers as being in a specific time, place and routine. This sequence is not advertising aimed at children, nor is it middle-of-the-day advertising where we might see a number of advertisements for products aimed exclusively at women, and specifically related to businesses within the immediate geographic location of the broadcast region. Rather, the programming is heading towards prime time and therefore the audience is heading towards becoming part of the larger imagined national community, as indicated by the appearance of advertisements for locally inflected national brands. The advertisment for the home appliance store, The Good Guys (an international company), features images of the local Canberra stores and their workers, to the sound of an Australian-accented male voiceover and jingle (a reversioning of the Beach Boys' *Good Vibrations*). The end card lists the addresses of stores in Canberra, situating the advertiser and viewers in the same location. The advertisement for Domino's

Pizza (an internationally available product) shows us the product while an Australian-accented male voiceover speaks about it. The end card reveals an "Australian" website address, as indicated by the ".com.au" that is an Australian domain address, and a 1300 phone number that links viewers to their local store. The advertisement for Flight Centre (Australian-owned and located), also with a male, locally-accented voiceover, local website and 1300 number, also functions to locate viewers and businesses in the same place. These advertisements are for stores that operate nationwide, and in some instances internationally, but are locally inflected by the use of various strategies.

Back into the world of television and Prime advertises itself and one of its programs in a 15-second station ID that emphasises that Prime is where we are and Prime reminds us that it is "Bringing it home to me". In this example of the ID, Prime is highlighting that it is bringing the US drama series *Lost* home to me, as we briefly see a glimpse of the actors, and the title of the show, amidst all the confettti of Prime advertising itself.

Prime has also just reminded us that it is bringing both the next and current program to us, and in transitional programming, the appearance of the ID is often an indication that we are about to wave goodbye to contextuating programming, our local space, and move to the space of the program. It could be argued that in this way, the ID of transitional contextuating programming, is the "real" programming of television as it is the programming that specifically speaks of our immediate contexts, without commercial advertising and without any program material. In these brief moments there is just us and the ID. However, our time alone is brief and we then hear the theme music of *M*A*S*H*, indicating we have left the space of contextuating programming and are heading into the program-space as we watch the opening images. Our journey there is short-lived also, as less than a minute of *M*A*S*H* is screened the next segment of contextuating programming. This very short segment of *M*A*S*H* contains only the opening credits and theme music to the program and reveals the names of the lead actors superimposed over the credit sequence images. The actual narrative of this particular episode has yet to begin, however, the minute of *M*A*S*H* is long enough for the Prime watermark to appear in the top right hand corner of the screen and remain visible throughout the sequence. In addition,

a "Prime" brand appears on the bottom of the screen along with the enhancement indicator of "CC" (closed caption). This textual information disappears before the sequence ends. Two and a half minutes have passed since the closing segment of the *News at 4:30* during which we have been positioned primarily as Prime viewers, located in Canberra, who are also relationally positioned as national Seven Network viewers. Being part of the viewing community of national Seven network viewers situates us relationally to international television programs and resources, and also as potential consumers of international and national products that are available locally.

*Transitional Contextuating Programming During "M*A*S*H"*

By comparison, the contextuating programming *during* the program offers shifts in locality from national network-space to station-space, as realised by the increase in paid advertising of goods and services local to specific broadcast regions rather than programs specific to the Network. This feature works to constitute viewers as local subjects already "here" and already watching. A general description of the first section of contextuating programming within the program follows (see Appendix 1.1 for log of the broadcast segment):

4:59:27 p.m.	Beginning of *M*A*S*H*, theme + credits (approx 30 seconds)
5:00:15 p.m.	Promo: *Home and Away*
5:00:34 p.m.	Ad: Telstra (broadband)
5:01:06 p.m.	Ad: Nicorette (health)
5:01:20 p.m.	Ad: Allen's (home/fashion)
5:01:35 p.m.	Ad: Domino's pizza (food)
5:01:49 p.m.	Ad: Godfrey's (home)
5:02:20 p.m.	Ad: Apollo Window blinds (home)
5:02:34 p.m.	Ad: Kitome (home)
5:03:05 p.m.	*M*A*S*H* resumes, credits superimposed

The shift from program material to non-program material should be quite disturbing and unsettling, but rarely is. It is so much a part of how we watch television, and what watching television is, that viewers expect it, and participate in it. However, just to be sure,

some sections of program material give large clues to programmers and viewers that now is the time to break this program up, if you like. I say "if you like", because European television systems, for example, tend to ignore the breaks of US series television. Instead, the sections of programming, or acts of the drama, are run in a block, thereby disturbing the rhythm of the scripting of US television comedy and drama series which are scripted specifically for the breaks. To not have the breaks may be disturbing because it becomes evident that the narrative, to flow seamlessly, actually needs them. Without breaks, the narrative flow is disrupted, and the sequential running of acts that were written to be separated by breaks is quite jarring. This feature is an example of the disjuncture of global flows (Appadurai, 1990) and supports the argument that contextuating programming is unique to the national television system in which programs are broadcast, and confirms that even within a global and international market, television programs are localised by contextuating programming and national systems of broadcasting.

The most dramatic clue that a shift in space from program to non-program material is about to occur is the use of theme music, which announces the approaching transition. The transition between *M*A*S*H* and local advertising within the program is no exception, even though in my example we have only had one minute of the program, all of it theme music. Here, the *M*A*S*H* theme signals both the beginning of the program and the transition from beginning of the program to the section of contextuating programming.

Having briefly visited the space of the Korean War as seen through the eyes of US drama series, we are reminded again of who is taking us there. A 15-second promo for the program *Home and Away* is loaded with information about where we are, who the station thinks and hopes we are, and indications of why we will want to watch it. The program classification "G" (general audience) appears, as does "CC" (closed caption). The caption "HD: Presented in High Definition where available" follows which turns into an icon of a compact disc (CD), with text identifying the title of the song we can hear as well as the name of the artist singing it. A "7 Prime" brandmark then becomes "Prime". All of this occurs over the top of and during a scene from *Home and Away* scheduled for broadcast later that evening. Finally, the banner "Australia's favourite, 7:00 TONIGHT" appears

along with another "Prime" brandmark with the text *"Home and Away"*. This promo relates the Prime viewer to the Seven Network viewer to the *Home and Away* viewer, who, it is suggested, is also interested in popular music and the program's soundtrack (an enticement to watch as well as an enticement to purchase the CD). Prime congratulates itself and entices us to join a large community of *Home and Away* viewers ("Australia's favourite"), and the "G" classification confirms a target audience of younger viewers with program content suitable for all ages.

This promo is followed by a series of advertisements which continue to position viewers as local; through the products advertised, and through the increase in "Australian" voices, seen and heard. There is still a shift in space and place here as advertisements address viewers with multiple identities in relation to place. Telstra, the national partly privatised telecommunications company, advertises its broadband services while the logo in the top corner is for Telstra Country Wide, which situates viewers as regionally located within a national context. Other advertising addresses viewers as local: advertisements for Allen's (home/fashion, national) specifies the precise location of the store, while advertisments for Domino's (food, international/national), and Apollo Blinds (home furnishings, national) promote 1300 phone numbers which indicate that there is a local provider of the national brand located within the broadcast region. All advertisements feature Australian voices and accents (predominantly male) and most advertisements show the people who are speaking, suggesting they are Australians. All advertisements confirm that we have moved further away from children's programming and into a space where more adult viewers will be. Nearly six minutes have passed since the end of *New at 4:30,* a period in which viewers can *"sidle up* [author's italics]" (Hartley, 1992b, p.165), and contextuating programming has addressed them as having multiple identities, including as Seven Network viewers, as Prime viewers, as *M*A*S*H* viewers and more specifically as Australian viewers and potential consumers of national and international products available locally. Contextuating programming has also acknowledged a "local" experience of having nationally available programs, goods and services, available in "your" area. Each piece of contextuating programming addresses a fragmented audience, yet put together the segment

constructs local, national and international identities and addresses viewers as already watching, and as local viewers in a wider cultural and network context.

Scheduling the Broadcast Nation

The work of contextuating programming in nation-building is both supported and destabilised by the scheduling practices within the Australian television system. While networking and satellite technology enables simultaneous broadcasting, it is more commonly the case that the same program will screen at the same local time wherever you are. For example, the nightly ABC National News is always broadcast at 7:00 p.m. in the time zone in which you are watching. Similarly, an adult drama series, for example, *The Sopranos*, will usually screen at 10:30 p.m. wherever you are watching in Australia. I write "usually" here because late night viewing is notoriously unreliable with programs beginning at different times from week to week, or starting later than scheduled some weeks. However, the advertised screening time for these programs is usually nationally consistent. This scheduling practice is relatively recent. O'Regan (1993a) writes that, "like US television, Australian television screened much the same programs nationwide. However it did not schedule them at the same time or on the same day. This only changed in the five major capital cities (Sydney, Melbourne, Brisbane, Adelaide and Perth) during 1988 and 1989" and it wasn't until 1990-91 "that Australia's commercial networks offered a national schedule simultaneously broadcast around Australia, and something approximating US network affiliation came to Australia" (1993a, p. 4).

The scheduling practice of broadcasting the same program at the same local time across time zones aligns viewers to communities engaged in similar activities (e.g. late night viewing). It also corresponds to regulatory patterns that legislate that certain programs in terms of content suitability are also aligned to specific viewer groups. All program and non-program material operates within the national framework of the *Commercial Industry Code of Practice* (Free TV Australia, 2004) that regulates when certain types of programs can be broadcast and what consumer advice is to be given about the content of the material. For example, *The Sopranos* is classified by the broadcast network (Nine Network) in Australia as having medium level violence, and strong language with occasional nudity and

drug use. This places this program into the classification of "MA" (Mature Audience) and thus it can only be viewed at certain times, by, it is strongly suggested, certain types of viewers. Therefore, scheduling practices are secured nationwide with the result that viewers can usually watch the same program at the same local time. In addition, scheduling practices operate within a regulatory environment that aligns similar demographics (mature adult viewers) as being engaged in similar activities at the same time (late night viewing). These viewing practices are established as national viewing practices, and local and national scheduling practices assist to define communities of viewers. Contextuating programming operates within this framework to reinforce these communities and their activities. Contextuating programming reassures us of national collectivity and comradeship (Anderson, 1991) by naming communities within the nation and showing them to us and talking to us as if there are others—locally nationally, and internationally—doing what we are doing.

It is a feature of contextuating programming that it suggests national comradeship while also being able to promote membership of local peripheral communities. In addition to the nation community, smaller local communities exist: the community of viewers watching a particular station; the network community; the broadcast reach; and communities of viewers of particular programs. Contextuating programming identifies them all, and addresses viewers as members of them. Television viewers, addressed as members of various communities of viewers and therefore as belonging to communities of viewers watching the same television, are positioned as belonging to broader communities in which television and everyday life are intertwined. Contextuating programming, in naming communities and viewers through station logos and IDs, suggests comradeship in localised versions of the nation and reminds viewers of national, local, global and international communities.

National Temporalities

Scheduling, networking and contextuating programming suggest a national community, engaged in simultaneous activity and comradeship, even when, as I have described, the time differences make this simultaneous activity rare. The sameness, rather

than simultaneity, is in the relatively consistent patterns in scheduling across time zones that divide a broadcast day into similar day-parts. Scheduling is one of the ways "broadcasting became central in the project of articulating a sense of the national" (Ellis, 2000, p. 44). Scheduling rhythms are locally idiosyncratic and are woven into the practices of daily life of viewers located within the broadcast region. The daily divisions of the broadcasting day into day-parts are contextually specific and subject to change as viewers' preferences and routines change. More broadly, the broadcasting rhythms exist over months and years and the broadcast year is divided into ratings and non-ratings periods that also reflect local and national conditions, including weather conditions. For example, summer is a non-ratings period in Australia because it is assumed that viewers are on holiday or busy with summer activities away from their television sets. In addition, broadcasting follows the rhythms of sporting events and ensures coverage of events of local and national importance and interest. Ellis (2000) suggests that in this way, "television became the keeper of the national calendar, marking the seasons by a ritualistic round of sporting events and commemorations" (p. 44). Twitchell (1996) discusses the role of television in the nation's celebration and describes a calendar year in America, linking the festivals and celebrations of Amercians with the advertising that accompanies them, and in many cases, has constructed them.

Often the very nationalistic uniqueness of scheduling and its role in the national routine is made obvious when one watches programs produced for commemorations or special events outside of one's usual broadcast nation. In Australia, for example, the scheduling of Christmas specials that are routinely produced for comedy and drama series in the United States and United Kingdom, is often out of sync with our broadcast schedule. There is usually a time lag between when a show is produced in the United States for example and when it is screened in Australia. This lag means that broadcasters can do one of three things. Firstly, Australian broadcasters can schedule the Christmas special during Christmas programming, which means it is likely to be out of sequence with the other episodes of the series. Secondly, broadcasters can schedule the Christmas special as it would occur in the series sequence and therefore it would most likely be broadcast during

non-Christmas programming in Australia. Thirdly, broadcasters can choose not to broadcast it. All options highlight the time lag and national scheduling differences. Further, the very fact of producing Christmas specials is a unique feature of a national system. Producers of television series in Australia tend not to produce Christmas specials, possibly because the low numbers of viewers in summer is so proven. What is important here is that the role of scheduling practices and national organisation of citizens is similar across global broadcasting systems, but each national television system's scheduling is uniquely local to that system and has the very important function of constructing a national community of viewers. Contextuating programming, as part of scheduling, is also both nationally and locally specific, and actively constructs a national community of viewers.

Calling an Australian Nation

Turner (1993) writes of a Clive James interview with a British comedian, recently returned from a visit to Australia. Their discussion about the mention of "Australian" many times in advertisements "presumed an Australian condition of national arrogance, a self-important assertion of the nation as a characteristic and aggressive patriotic 'tic'" (p. 8). Turner suggests an alternative reading, where "the continual naming of Australia within these advertisements . . . becomes incantatory, calling the nation into being" (1993, p.8). Read in this way, the role of contextuating programming in the creation of the nation is highlighted. The naming of Australia is explicit in some advertisements, but is also implicit in the depictions of places, people, activities, and products that are presented as Australian within contextuating programming. Contextuating programming calls Australia and Australians into being as it supports local scheduling practices and the construction of national and regional communities of viewers. Crucially, this process localises the televisual product within which it sits. As already noted, watching Australian television, or more accurately television in Australia, means watching programs produced in places other than Australia, and programs produced for, in those cases, non-Australian national audiences and broadcasting systems. Contextuating programming then, is vital, as it works to both remind us of the national and local context within which we are watching this programming while it also simultaneously constructs that context.

Conclusion

There is a substantial amount of television material produced and broadcast that is not accounted for in television guides and in many studies of television and audiences. In this chapter I have discussed the material that is built into the very nature of what we expect to do when we sit down to watch television. We adjust our viewing practices and expectations according to the regimes of this material. We know, for example, when the pauses are on SBS and how they are different to those on commercial stations. And even when we do not watch it, contextuating programming is there and we know it is there, and broadcasters count on it being there as it tries to keep us there, and to remind us where and who we are when we are there.

I have also discussed how contextuating programming works as localising programming. Local advertising for local markets performs a localising function that marks out differences between, for example, watching Network Ten in Adelaide and watching Network Ten in Canberra. The localising function of contextuating programming is also the process by which foreign programs are made local, by being repackaged by the familiar and locally meaningful advertising and station material. Contextuating programming integrates, localises and re-contextualises program content, which can be found almost anywhere globally, into a particular station-place and its geographies. The identifications of those places and their relational spaces as they appear in contextuating programming might be obvious, as is often the case in regional markets, where indicators and signs of the regional broadcaster—who is also purchaser, packager, promoter and distributor—and its relationships, are blatant, numerous and bold. In metropolitan markets, such indicators are more vaguely specific and linked more generally to global, international and national identities.

In this chapter, I have discussed how contextuating programming simultaneously rewards viewers for watching, entices viewers to keep watching, and addresses viewers as loyal, new, local, national and international. Contextuating programming is a demonstration of the way that television operates by constituting viewers as different kinds of subjects

—as national citizens and members of a global community, and as members of a local community and, therefore, as local consumers. Contextuating programming identifies, instructs, suggests and rewards, and tells us about where we are and who else is here with us. It reminds us of who we can be and who we are thought to be.

The work of identity construction, national or otherwise, as it occurs through watching television, is not, I have argued, limited to watching programs. Hartley (2000) writes:

> Seeing the moon landings, the death of a Kennedy, or any other ceremonies of American national television, including *British* elections followed in *Australian* [author's italics] homes, did not make people from around the world into Americans. It may not even have made American citizens themselves into "Americans". (pp. 166-167)

Contextuating programming counters the nationalisms of programs, by massaging them into the space of the local television context. As I have argued, it is not the programs, but the blocks of contextuating programming that work to construct identities, particularly local-national identities. Hartley (2000) further argues that:

> When "we" watched the ecstasies of lunar landings we were fleetingly human, not national; when "we" saw the agonies of assassination, or even the lunacies of the Monica Lewinsky saga, we were "haggling" for meanings about ourselves however construed, not about our relation to the United States. (p. 167)

However, my experience of watching the "live event" around the death, and subsequent "live" funeral of Diana, Princess of Wales, in Paris, and my experience in San Francisco, forcefully foregrounded for me national differences, and imagined nations. While I did feel "fleetingly human", it was impossible not to be thinking of being Australian. Specifically, I recognised that part of how I identified as being Australian and what I thought of as "home", and part of what I therefore identified as my local-place, was that of the Australian

television system. Further, as I have been arguing of viewing and identitity construction, it is the contextuating programming more than the program itself that offers, constructs and supports communities, including those of "humanity" and the national. Humanity was explicitly referred to in the "Celebrate Humanity" advertisements during the contextuating programming of the broadcasts of the Olympic Games. In the next chapter, I will discuss the contextuating programming of the Channel Seven broadcasts of the Olympic Games in 2000 and 2004 as it relates to the construction of a globally situated nation of viewers, and of the regional viewerships constructed and addressed within it.

CHAPTER 4: NATIONHOOD, CONTEXTUATING PROGRAMMING AND THE CHANNEL 7 COVERAGE OF THE OLYMPIC GAMES IN 2000 AND 2004.

"Bringing it home to ME."

Prime (Channel 7) station ID, 2005.

Saturday 14 August 2004, Canberra. Day One of the Athens Olympics.

This time, Athens 2004, the time differences will make a difference. I scramble to find out when the Opening Ceremony will be televised and find I have already missed it. It was broadcast live at 3:30 a.m. so I will have to watch the repeat broadcast at a more civilised hour later today. Last time, Sydney 2000, we had people over for dinner to watch the Opening Ceremony and the party atmosphere was everywhere. We were in Canberra and the spirit was palpable, but for the first time in a long time I wished I were back living in Sydney. This was the one time when all the things that drove me mad about Sydney and eventually drove me away from it would have been worth it. I wanted to be there. Watching it on television was never going to be enough. Yet here we were, waiting for it to begin. Seven years earlier, in September 1993, like so many other Sydneysiders, I was awake when it was announced that Sydney would host the 2000 Games. Because the announcement was made on the other side of the world, we were up at 3:30 a.m., watching TV, or in the streets, or down at Circular Quay where the announcement was broadcast on huge screens. I was in my apartment in Darlinghurst from where I could glimpse the Opera House, which was decorated with coloured beams of light in anticipated celebration. But I let out an "Oh no..." when Juan Antonio Samaranch awarded the Games to "Sidonie". I was worried that Sydney would never be the same again. The day after the announcement, while shopping for food along Oxford Street, scores of people were still celebrating and yelling "We won" to complete strangers. Sydney had already changed.

I've always had a bit of a fascination with Opening Ceremonies. I enjoy the tension of not knowing what's coming next in the display of Olympic and host nation imagery. Will

I cringe, laugh or applaud the next national icon that parades itself through the arena? This time no one wanted to cringe, not now it was about us, but odds were we would. A healthy cynicism is our trademark here in Australia, and the cycling kangaroos at the end of the Atlanta Games, acting as a prelude to 2000, weren't a good sign. But here we were, Sydney 2000, and the Opening Ceremony was really something else. I was teary as familiar icons wafted through the stadium: the tin sheds, the Ned Kellys, the flannelette shirts. It was difficult to be cynical. It was wonderful. My Australian friends in Paris were watching it over brunch. They too were teary, and, longing for home, they popped a phone call through. There was debate about how well we'd done, whether the choice of icons was right (for the most part it was), and agreement at how beautiful Sydney looked. We'd all lived in Sydney together but now it was friends in Canberra talking to friends in Paris. But home was there on television, being shown to the world and uncharacteristically we were proud. Of what, it's hard to say. That we did it? That we knew the whole world was watching, and we looked great? That we recognised our "selves"? There was such pleasure in recognising our sense of humour and our icons. It felt like the whole of Australia was feeling the same thing and laughing along with us. The imagery was so right for us that we wondered if the rest of the world would get the jokes. It didn't matter. This was talking to us and talking to us as if we would "get" it.

Everyone knew someone who was doing something related to the Olympics. A friend in Sydney had family members participating in the Opening Ceremony and had been to the rehearsals. I had co-ordinated volunteers from Wollongong University to assist in various roles connected with the USA broadcaster, NBC. The recruitment program took years, the enthusiasm of our students was measurable, and opportunities abounded. One of my students earned a cadetship out of the experience and went to the USA to work with NBC. We now know that a woman named Mary from Tasmania met her future husband, Crown Prince Frederik of Denmark, while bar hopping during the Games. Dreams were coming true.

And what a beautiful night it was—warm, typically for Sydney, unseasonably for Canberra. The Olympics, usually held in the northern hemisphere's summer in August, had

been pushed back to September so the weather, it was hoped, while not quite summer yet, would be fine and athletically sympathetic. To top it off we had brought forward our change to Daylight Saving Time so that for once in our lives the days were longer earlier in September. I wondered how many people I knew were there on opening night and what they would do afterwards. Sydney was by all accounts one big party with screens erected at various sites around town so people could watch coverage communally, outdoors, and drift in and out of the experience.

This time, Athens in August 2004, the Channel Seven website reported that at one location set up for communal viewing there was a solitary figure with a beer to keep him warm. "He'd expected there'd be more of a party".

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Chapter Overview

Sydney was awash with concern, cynicism and scepticism before the 2000 Games. It was unclear how such an event that relied so much on presenting a cohesive nation to make it a success was ever going to work. We worried about it in Australia and the media was full of critique and anxiety about the event. Turner (2000) writes:

> With all the worry about the logistics of the event, it was possible to forget how quintessentially nationalist an event the Olympic Games actually are. And we may have also forgotten that, no matter how cynical we may be about nationalism or amateur sport, such events powerfully construct and reinforce a sense of community identity. (p. 2)

In this chapter I examine how the contextuating programming during the Channel 7 broadcasts of the Olympic Games of Sydney 2000 and Athens 2004 worked to "construct and reinforce a sense of community identity". Further, I examine how contextuating programming suggested a range of communities and identities across Australia.

Moreover, the Olympic Games was an instance of simultaneous broadcasting and in this chapter I describe contextuating programming as it functioned across the three time zones of Australia. Further, I examine the ways in which an Australian nation of viewers was both nationally constructed and regionally elucidated by the contextuating programming in each time zone. In addition I examine how broadcast regions within the national Seven Network are defined through contextuating programming, and I specifically analyse the broadcasts in Alice Springs to demonstrate the complex ways in which network- and station-place are configured during the simultaneous broadcasting of the Olympic Games on Australian television.

I am aware that there were other broadcasts of the Olympic Games available to viewers in Australia—via the internet, and via Channel 7's digital channels and in 2004 streaming to mobile phones was available in some broadcast regions. Moreover in 2004, Channel 7 and the government-sponsored channel SBS entered a broadcast agreement whereby SBS broadcast a selection of Olympic events in their entirety. I will refer occasionally to the SBS broadcasts, but the focus of my analysis is the contextuating programming of the more readily accessible commercial free-to-air Channel 7 broadcast.

Nation-watching

The broadcast of the Olympic Games is a special occasion for television, and what Dayan and Katz (1992) call a "Media Event". I have chosen to analyse the coverage of the Olympics because it is an event which foregrounds the concept of the nation. In the Olympic Games, nations are identified and compete against each other, encouraging viewers to barrack for particular nations in addition to individual athletes. Therefore, one of the communities foregrounded by the Olympic Games is that of the nation-state. Sinclair (2000), in discussing the torch relay that precedes the athletic events of the Games, writes:

> The Olympic Games may be an inclusive, worldwide phenomenon–Robertson
> (1992:58) lists it as one of the first global institutions–but it exists for a world of
> nation-states, and celebrates and legitimises the nation-state as the proper unit of

cultural as well as political and economic sovereignty and organisation in the world. (pp. 36-37)

The Olympic Games is not the only sporting event that relies on the concept of the nation-state to function successfully. World Cup Football (soccer) and Rugby World Cup events, for example, also rely on such a concept. These events rely on media coverage to reinforce their status as global events and are therefore global media events. Dayan and Katz (1992) categorise three types of global media event: Conquest, Contest and Coronation. Global media sporting events such as the Olympics and World Cup football, are described as Contests, and they share this category with presidential debates, as "their domain is sports and politics" (Dayan & Katz, 1992, p.26).

The global media sporting event relies on the concept of the nation-state and integrates the concept into its organisational structure. Dayan and Katz (1992) ask us to:

> consider the tension between broadcasters and organizers[sic] over the Olympic Games. Members of the International Olympics Committee are said to wish to represent the games as part of an unbroken tradition that stems from classical Greece, celebrating individual achievement, healthy minds in healthy bodies, the striving to accomplish more than humans can be expected to accomplish. It is dubious, of course, that they really want this, given the emphasis on national Contest in the organization [sic] of the games. For their part, the broadcasters explicitly prefer national over individual competition, thus taking sides with the national rather than the international organizing [sic] committees. The fight is over the representation of the event. (pp. 66-67)

Further, the structural relationship between the International Olympic Committee (IOC), the host city and television broadcasters, emphasises the nation-state. Wilson (2000) writes of the extraordinary complications and implications for the host-city, Sydney, and its obligations regarding broadcasting infrastructure during the 2000 Games. The Sydney Olympic Broadcasting Organisation (SOBO) was formed specifically for the Games as the

"host broadcaster", whose responsibility it was to ensure there was coverage of all events which could be used by other rights-paying broadcasters (Wilson, 2000, p. 23). The host broadcaster provides a master set of images. This set of images is not actually ever broadcast as a program, but is the set which rights-paying broadcasters reconfigure as they select the footage they consider to be of interest to their audience. The selection is repackaged into the broadcaster's own coverage for the viewers "back home". In selecting from the host images, the rights-paying broadcaster has made judgements about the events' relevance and appeal to a national audience. As the broadcasters from different countries repackage the host-city footage, the content has undergone various processes of localisation. Firstly, the host-city footage has been made local to the viewing nation by the selection process of determining footage relevant to the broadcaster's audience and their location. Secondly, the footage is then surrounded by and integrated into the broadcaster's specific practices through the addition of contextuating programming, including the presence of presenters and announcers from the broadcast station. Finally, the program is broadcast in each particular broadcast nation, and structured in a way that it aligns with the television system and culture in which it is broadcast. Thus the set of athletic events that constitutes the Olympic Games is repackaged from the master set of broadcast perspectives provided by the host broadcaster into a number of interpretations of the Olympic Games, each of which has been selected for its perceived relevance to a national audience. In this way, the broadcast coverage of the Olympics further foregrounds the concept of a nation as each broadcast nation watches a coverage that has been both "localised" and "nationalised", by which I mean that each broadcast has been designed with a national audience in mind, or at least a nationwide audience with "nationhood" on its mind, and has been formulated so that viewers who are watching are imagined to be, and addressed as being, familiar and local to the television practices articulated in the broadcast.

Viewers in different countries watch a specifically unique version of the Olympic Games that has been designed, packaged and distributed by each country's official broadcaster, with the assistance, and under the regulations, of the International Olympic Committee. Given that each country's broadcast is different, and designed for a specific nation of viewers, the notion of a program called *The Olympic Games* as a discrete unit of

programming that is broadcast globally is destabilised. That there are many different representations of the Olympic Games, each constructed by national broadcasters for imagined nation communities, suggests that *The Olympic Games* is actually the set of images produced by the host broadcaster. More commonly, television programs that are broadcast globally such as US sitcoms and dramas, circulate as discrete units and viewers globally can be assumed to be watching the same program. Contextuating programming and scheduling practices, as well as other cultural specificities local to each broadcast region, will localise the foreign program to some extent, but a viewer watching *Friends* in Australia and a viewer watching *Friends* in America are both watching the same characters and events. The program *The Olympic Games*, however, is rarely the same across global broadcast regions. For example, broadcast coverage in Australia in 2000 and 2004 was almost exclusively concerned with events in which Australians were competing. Broadcast coverage in France was skewed heavily to those events in which French athletes were competing and it is assumed that most national broadcasters focussed their selection similarly. The focus of the Olympic Games on nationhood makes the fact of national bias and preference in coverage unsurprising. Rather, the national preferences demonstrate the way in which the nation is one of the communities offered to viewers by the broadcast.

Localised Programming

Paradoxically, because the idea of the nation is so central to the Olympics, and the broadcast of the Games reinforces national identities, the coverage of the Olympics begins to resemble what I call "localised programming". News bulletins are another example of localised programming in that the same news event may appear in news bulletins globally, but each particular broadcast region will contextualise the event differently, both by the selection of words and images chosen to represent the event, and also by the ways in which the event is integrated into the television system and culture local to that region. The decision about an event's importance to local audiences, reflected in where it occurs within the news bulletin, is a decision made by the local broadcaster, and the scheduling of the news bulletin occurs within local and national scheduling practices. Similarly, the Olympic Games is a global event that is localised in its representations. The Olympic Games is an example of localised programming where each particular country and its broadcast system

produces a version that is made local to that country's nation of viewers. The "localised" version is broadcast nationwide, and further "made local" as it is inflected with strategies of television practice local to that national system, including the rhythmical structure of segments, the frequency and duration of contextuating programming breaks and the addition of contextuating programming features written over the broadcast. The coverage that is broadcast in each broadcast region is manufactured from host images available globally, and constructed within and by "national" constraints including not only determinants such as scheduling, but also by notions of what it is to be a nation and therefore what a national audience might be enticed to watch.

However, my study is concerned not with the program, but with the non-program material and the way in which it suggests communities—particularly national and local communities—for viewers. In the example of the Olympics, the work of contextuating programming in nation-building is much more visible than in regular television programming as the investment by the broadcaster in nationhood and local communities intersects with the features of the global media sporting event. As a consequence, the footage of the events of the Olympic Games is made local by contextuating programming including local commentators, extensive watermarking and branded material and advertisements surrounding the program. In the example of the Olympic Games, contextuating programming material is broadcast (and thus viewed) within a context where nationhood and locality are foregrounded by the program material, and in which viewers are addressed as belonging to both a community of Australian viewers and also regionalised communities, relationally situated within the national community and broader global communities of viewers and consumers.

Simultaneous Broadcasting and Nation-building

In Australia, the work undertaken to create a nation of Olympics viewers out of communities of locally different but nationally secured residents was enormous and begun well before the official start of the Sydney Olympic Games in 2000. Dayan and Katz (1992) discuss the pre-work undertaken for events of this kind, including the "advance notice [that] gives time for anticipation and preparation on the part of both broadcasters and

audiences. There is an active period of looking forward, abetted by the promotional activity of the broadcasters" (p.7). Contextuating programming is part of this promotional activity and in Australia station IDs identifying Channel 7 as the Olympic station and other Olympics related contextuating programming appeared long before the Games began. The promotion of the 2000 Sydney Olympics began in earnest once it was announced in September 1993 that Sydney would be the host city and the success of the bid was in part dependent on preparations and pre-planning that took place well before the winner was announced. Therefore, by the time the event finally began in September 2000, more than seven years of pre-planning and promotional activities, including the active work of contextuating programming, had occurred to assist in building an Olympics-ready nation. Other associated promotional events for the Olympics include the cultural events program surrounding the athletics program, and the tradition of the torch relay in which the unification of a nation, and its connection to the world takes place (Sinclair, 2000). The torch relay was not unique to the Sydney Games, but the associated media coverage in the host country, Australia, explicitly displayed local difference while it also worked to build the larger community of the nation collective (Sinclair, 2000).

The broadcasting of the Olympic Games is an instance of simultaneous broadcasting, that is, within Australia, the same *Olympic Games* program was broadcast to all broadcast regions simultaneously so that all viewers were sharing the same broadcast collectively. As such, the scheduling of the Olympic Games coverage is quite different to the usual practice of scheduling. Simultaneous broadcasting occurs rarely, in part because of the time differences across the country and due to national and regional scheduling practices. For an event like the Olympics, however, simultaneous broadcasting assists in the creation of communities of viewers (including local, regional, national and global communities) who collectively watch the program.

Time-zoned Spaces

The geographic vastness of Australia, however, means that simultaneous broadcasting has to traverse three time zones: Western, Central and Eastern Australia time. The consequent temporal organisation of both the geographic place and the social space

means that simultaneous broadcasts occur during different parts of the day for viewers across the nation. Television exists within a set of social practices, and social life is organised around time, with the division of the day into times and related activities, for example meal times, work, rest, and leisure. Viewers' relationships to television are relational to other social and temporal practices, and the attention and time given to watching television exists within the organisation of time, space and social activities. For example, when Australian athlete Cathy Freeman ran in the 400m final in 2000, what was 8:00 p.m. in Sydney was only 5:00 p.m. in Perth. My relatives in Perth, while watching the same event as me, at the same time as me, were not watching it during their evening meal. The differring time zones mean that television watching occurs within a different context of social practices and differing spheres of the everyday by viewers in different locations. In conjunction with other differences (economic, social, racial) locally experienced in each region, the temporal and spatial differences experienced in geographic locations across Australia mitigate the nation-building project associated with simultaneous broadcasting.

Contextuating programming functions in the spatial and temporal organisational practices in Australia in complex ways, as it is employed to assist in nation-building, in network-building, in supporting and constructing regional identities and in local station-identity building. Further, contextuating programming is engaged to fulfill advertising obligations, some of which are national obligations (the pressures of the network and national advertisers to have their advertising spots in particular places in the program schedule), and other obligations which are specifically local to the broadcast station. Advertising schedules are, in part, determined by where viewers might be in the routine of everyday life (eating, returning from work, relaxing), and where they are geographically located, and advertising aims to address a presumed demographic in specific locations engaged in an assumed range of social activities, including watching specific programs on particular stations. Therefore the advertisements for products available in broadcast regions for example, work to address and locate viewers and programs in specific city-, town- and nation-spaces, while other examples of contextuating programming such as station and network IDs and promos work to locate viewers and programs in network-space. Further, contextuating programming for nationally available

Australian and international brands work to locate viewers relationally to viewers elsewhere (but not necessarily "else-when"). In this way contextuating programming, tied as it is to the advertising obligations of the television station and network, supports the temporal organisation of social space, which both supports and undermines the national project.

Harvey (1989, p. 147) argues that we live in "time-space compression" and communication industries (and others) have developed such that the world is a smaller place through the "pulverization" of space (Lefebvre (1974) in Harvey (1989), p. 254). Communication technologies have made it possible for viewers globally to be watching the same thing at the same time on televisions internationally, thus it can be argued that the vast spaces of the globe are compressed such that we are all in the same time and therefore the same place. In the same way that simultaneous broadcasting is part of the process of nation-building, then it is also a part of globalisation, or at least of world-wide community-building. Yet it is only in such relatively rare global media events that this occurs on commercial free-to-air television. Further, even when these events do occur, social relations and structures, and cultural practices specific to nations, counter this vigourously. Resistance occurs at a national level, or scale (O'Regan, 1993a), as globally available images are enculturated into national television systems and their practices. My experiences in Paris and San Francisco demonstrated this as the globally available event (experienced in Paris) and program (experienced in San Francisco) were integrated within the local nation and regional cultures, including through national television system scheduling practices and the particular national and regional practices of contextuating programming.

Within national television systems a similar resistance occurs as each station and network tailors program material to their local network- and station-space through contextuating programming, and through their own specific, and often subtle, cultural practices. My experiences when travelling to Sydney, Wollongong, Canberra, Adelaide and Perth were examples of this. Contextuating programming both works to form a nation, speaking as it does of national networks and relationally situated places and people, and to

endorse regional difference as it speaks directly of stations that are regionally situated within national networks, and of businesses located within specific broadcast regions.

These features suggest that advertisements within contextuating programming of the simultaneous broadcasts of the Olympic Games would differ across the broadcast regions of Australia, because they are in part tuned to the everyday routines of viewers situated in those regions. Further, the everyday interests and concerns of localities vary across the nation from the metropolitan cities to the rural and remote towns of Australia and aspects of contextuating programming reflect, construct and support these differences. Thus, the everyday, but locally different, activities of viewers, interact with the broadcast in locally specific ways and contextuating programming reflects these interactions.

The Case Studies

Sydney 2000

In 2000, I asked my communities of friends and family scattered throughout Australia to record a section of the Olympics broadcast so I could analyse whether, and how, contextuating programming differed across broadcast regions in Australia. I asked my participants to each record the same time-slot, in this case between 9:00 a.m. and noon on Friday September 29, 2000. I specifically chose a relatively ordinary day within the schedule so that it would be free of the fanfare and celebration associated with the beginning and ending of the two-week event. I anticipated that the ordinariness of the timing might also reveal something of how contextuating programming occurs across the broadcast regions in non-Olympic times. I selected the first Friday of the two-week Olympic Games broadcast, because it is traditionally a relatively ordinary day of events within the whole Olympic schedule. The glamour swimming events have finished and the finals of the big athletics events are yet to begin. Further, a Friday is not a popular viewing day in terms of numbers of viewers as it is assumed many people are at work at this time. I expected therefore to see an average selection of the available set of contextuating programming items that could be chosen from. By choosing the same time-slot (9:00 a.m. to noon) in different locations across Australia, I was attempting to map everyday routine

onto schedule, because all viewers would be assumed to be engaged in the same activities by the broadcaster as they were all watching in the same advertising time-slot, and all time-slots, even within global media events, still operate to some extent on the temporal certainty of the 9:00 a.m.-5:00 p.m. work-day and its related social activities. [31]

I analysed the same time-slot in each time zone because I wanted to examine how the time differences between spaces (Western, Central and Eastern Australia) which meant that viewers were watching different events at the same time, might or might not be cancelled out by the fact that temporally all viewers were in the same time-slot within the day—that is, all watching between 9:00 a.m and noon. Advertising within contextuating programming tends to anticipate viewers' everyday routines and I wanted to observe how contextuating programming across the different timeslots was supporting a national project of Australians presumed to be engaged in the 9:00 a.m.-5:00 p.m. day. I anticipated that, given that viewers would be watching different events, there might be some discernible conflation by broadcasters of day-part ritual with perceived importance in program content. I presumed certain events would attract bigger sponsors, but that that would have to be balanced by the advertising obligations tied to the nationalised concept of the everyday routines of viewers.

I selected one metropolitan and one regional broadcaster from each of the three time zones for my study. I analysed two broadcasts from the Western Australian time zone, the broadcasts in Perth, the capital city of Western Australia, (Channel 7, metropolitan) and Geraldton, Western Australia (GWN, a Prime subsidiary, regional), a major town in the farming region approximately 420 kms north of Perth. The broadcasts I analysed from the Central Australian time zone were from Adelaide, the capital city of South Australia (Channel 7, metropolitan) and Alice Springs, Northern Territory (7SCB, Prime, regional), a desert city approximately 1500 kms north of Adelaide. In the Eastern Australian time zone I analysed the broadcast from Sydney (Channel 7, metropolitan), capital city of New South Wales and largest city in Australia, and Wollongong, New South Wales (7 Prime, regional), an industrial coastal city approximately 80 kms south of Sydney. Although I had asked

each participant to record the same time-slot and therefore I could see what Olympic viewers in each time zone were watching between 9:00 a.m. and noon at their location[32], the time differences across the regions meant that viewers were watching different events in each location. In winter, there is usually a two-hour time difference between Western Australia and Eastern Australia. However, Daylight Saving Time (DST) had been introduced early in the Eastern Australia time zone especially for the Olympics. The early introduction of Daylight Saving Time, or summer-time, and the scheduling of glamour events to later in the evening was not made for viewers in Australia or for the athletes, but for the international rights-paying broadcasters who were, as it turned out quite rightly, concerned that the time difference between the host country Australia and the viewers in the northern hemisphere would negatively impact on their ratings. The early shift to Daylight Saving Time meant that Western Australia was still on winter-time while Eastern Australia was on summer-time.[33] That meant that Perth and Sydney were now three hours apart instead of two hours apart, and that when Perth viewers began watching at 9:00 a.m. their time, they were watching what Adelaide viewers were seeing at 10:30 a.m. and what Sydney viewers were seeing at noon (see Table 1).

Table 1

Relative time across the time zones of Australia during the Olympics 2000

Western Australia	Central Australia	Eastern Australia
6:00 a.m.–9:00 a.m.	7:30 a.m.–10:30 a.m.	9:00 a.m.–noon
7:30 a.m.–10:30 a.m.	9:00 a.m.–noon	10:30 a.m.–1:30 p.m.
9:00 a.m.–noon	10:30 a.m.–1:30 p.m.	Noon–3:00 p.m.

Note. During the simultaneous broadcasting of the Olympics, the temporal differences across Australia meant that viewers watching during (in this example) 9:00 a.m.–noon in one time zone are watching different events to viewers watching between 9.00 a.m.–noon in other time zones.

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[31] See Silverstone (1994, pp. 18-23) for more on television, schedules and everyday life.
[32] Due to a technological problem, the Geraldton footage runs from 10.00 am to noon only.
[33] Queensland, also on the east coast of Australia, does not participate in Daylight SavingTime.

Athens 2004

I conducted another analysis of the Olympic Games, this time of the broadcasts of the Games held in Athens in 2004. I wanted to examine how contextuating programming might or might not differ to that of the Sydney 2000 coverage, when the Games were held "at home" in Australia. For my analysis of the broadcasts of the 2004 Athens Olympic Games, I again chose broadcasts from one metropolitan and one regional station within each of the three Australian time zones. In 2004 however, I was unable to use the Prime broadcast in Wollongong, NSW as an example, and substituted in its place the Prime broadcast in Canberra, Australian Capital Territory, located approximately 286 kms southwest of Sydney. Wollongong and Canberra are cities within the same broadcast reach, and while Canberra is the capital city of Australia, its location is within a regional broadcasting zone. Canberra's relatively small population and its distance from the metropolitan cities of Melbourne (an eight hour drive by car) and Sydney (a three-and-a half hour drive by car) confirms its regional identity.

In 2004, there was a time difference of seven hours between the host-city, Athens, and Sydney and Olympic Games' viewers in Australia returned to having to watch live broadcasts late into the evening and early hours of the morning, which was something we did not have to do when the Games were held "at home" in Australia. Channel 7 countered this awkward programming by scheduling highlights packages during the day until the live broadcast began at 3:30 p.m. Eastern Australian time. The scheduling of highlights packages ("live" broadcasting, but with footage compiled of events that had already occurred) followed by live programming of events during the normal broadcast day provided me with the opportunity to examine the transitional programming between the highlights programming and the live broadcasts. Building on my analysis in Chapter 3 of transitional contextuating programming from program to program, the Athens Olympics coverage allowed me to analyse a longer period of transitional broadcasting from highlights package to live broadcast. Therefore, in each of the time zones I am analysing the same 3 hours of transitional programming comprising 1.5 hours of highlights package followed by 1.5 hours of live broadcast. In my Sydney 2000 example, I analysed the same time block

of broadcast (9:00 am to noon in each time zone) which meant that the events recorded were different across the time zones. In my Athens 2004 example, I analysed the same footage across time zones rather than the same time-slots. I focussed again on broadcasts in the middle of the two weeks of coverage and my analysis is of the following broadcasts on Saturday August 21, 2004 (see Table 2): from noon until 3:00 p.m. in the Western Australian time zone (Perth, WA and Geraldton, WA) where live broadcasting began at 1:30 p.m.; from 1:30 p.m. until 4:30 p.m. in the Central Australian time zone (Adelaide, SA and Alice Springs, NT) where live broadcasting began at 3:00 p.m.; and from 2:00 p.m. until 5:00 p.m. in the Eastern Australian time zone (Sydney, NSW and Canberra, ACT) where live broadcasting began at 3:30 p.m.

Table 2

Time across Australian time zones of simultaneous 3-hour broadcast of Athens Olympic Games 2004

Time Zone	Location	Time at location
Western Australia	Perth, WA + Geraldton, WA	Noon–3:00 p.m.
Central Australia	Adelaide, SA + Alice Springs, NT	1:30 p.m.–4:30 p.m.
Eastern Australia	Sydney, NSW + Canberra, ACT	2:00 p.m.–5:00 p.m.

Note. The 3-hour broadcast comprised 1.5 hours of highlights package transitioning to 1.5 hours of live broadcasting.

My analysis covered a total of 36 hours of Olympic Games footage—18 hours of the Games held in Sydney 2000 and 18 hours of the Games held in Athens in 2004—and focussed on one metropolitan and one regional broadcaster within each time zone. During the three-hour block of Athens 2004 Olympic Games footage within each location, 35 minutes, or approximately 19.5%, was contextuating programming. During the three-hour block of Sydney 2000 Olympic Games footage within each location, 30 minutes, or approximately 16.5%, was contextuating programming. Both figures are well within the allowable limits of 16 minutes per hour of "non-program matter" as legislated within the *Commercial Television Industry Code of Practice* (Free TV Australia, 2004). Each break within the three hours of footage was between 3 and 4 minutes long with the occasional

1-minute break. The longest section of programming without advertising lasts for approximately 20 minutes and occurs at the transition point between highlights package to live programming. Yet the experience of watching the Olympics was that it was much more about advertising than ever before. The Olympics broadcasts regularly top and tail transitions between events and advertising breaks with sponsorship announcements which are classified as exempt non-program matter and are therefore not included in calculating allowable limits of advertising. However, because of the contextualising nature of these announcements, I have identified them as elements of contextuating programming and included them in my calculations.

Contextuating Programming in the Olympic Games Broadcasts

Local Hosts

The broadcast of the Olympic Games provides instances where the processes of contextualisation and localisation by contextuating programming occur within what we would usually consider to be the program. With the broadcast of the Olympic Games, the program material is that which is produced by the host-nation, and what the national rights-paying broadcaster does with it and to it becomes part of the localising process and includes examples of contextuating programming. Footage that is available to each nation's rights-paying broadcaster is made local to each nation by broadcaster by the selection of footage locally relevant to each nation. Once selected, the localising and contextualising work of contextuating programming begins as it re-locates and re-contextualises the program into the broadcast nation's television system and culture.

With global media sporting events of this kind, the nation and the local often become intertwined, as do "Australian" and Seven Network identities. For example, Australian/Seven Network hosts frame the Olympic event as they host the footage from their position in the studio, introducing and summarising events. The very presence of the host in repackaging the footage is a form of contextuating programming as their presence is locally situated, as both part of the network and also the country in which the broadcast is transmitted. The feature of the local-host thus contextualises the event footage as it is broadcast nationwide. In 2004, the hosts make direct reference to the time differences

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between Australia and Athens, as the broadcast consistently navigates time and space, constructing a local "here" (Australia, local-time, studio, place of viewing) and not-local "there" (Greece/Athens, Athens-time, place of games footage, place of action). Further, in the broadcasts for television viewers in Australia, Australian/Network Seven commentators (usually unseen) call the various events and talk over the "original" footage.

At times watching the coverage actually feels like one is watching the commentators watching footage rather than the live event, as we hear them mis-pronouncing words and stumbling through incorrect information, often in an attempt to localise (make relevant to viewers in Australia) what they are seeing. In 2004, in an attempt to relate an equestrian event back to the Games in Sydney in 2000, one commentator stated excitedly: "Gerta's married to one of the gold medal team dressage members in Sydney". Soon after, however, he said, "I should correct myself, it is Gerta's *coach* who is married to a member of the team dressage". These instances highlighted for me that the commentators are fed images and information and could be located, like the viewers, anywhere, and not necessarily be present at the Games. In fact commentators are often sitting in the media hub that is so extensive, and removed from the actual venues, that it need not be at the Olympics site at all.[34] The televisual coverage constructs the space of the Olympic Games, and reveals to viewers sites and events that even for those who are actually there it is impossible to attend in the same way. Spectators at the events are not seeing the same Olympic Games as the viewers are at home[35], just as viewers in different television systems are not seeing the same Olympic Games, yet still all are collectively watching the Olympic Games.

Further examples of the localising features of contextuating programming that appear within what one would normally consider the program include those features that are produced by the relevant rights-paying broadcaster (in Australia this is Channel 7) and inserted into the broadcast. Voices local to the viewing nation and network embellish

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[34] See Wilson (2000) for more on the relationship between the 2000 Games and the technology supporting its broadcast.
[35] See Rowe (2000a) for more on the differences between being there and watching the 2000 Olympics at home.

Olympic events when athletes relevant to the viewing nation are interviewed at the site of their event. These interviews are produced for specific national audiences and are therefore examples of contextuating programming.

Videographics

Videographic examples of contextuating programming include the network-produced text and logo banners superimposed over event footage that introduce, describe and make local events and their commentators. Other examples include the videographic wipes that occur as transitions between program (event footage and commentary), to surrounding contextuating programming (advertisements, promos and logos) which are identified as network-produced and nationally broadcast through their logos. For example, in Athens 2004 and Sydney 2000, the number 7 (to indicate the Seven Network) above the Olympic rings appears regularly in transition wipes, and in network-produced "cards" that introduce events such as "athletics". All of the wipes use sound effects and music grabs as audio tracks which are selected and recorded by the network in Australia. In Sydney 2000 these wipes often also contain the text "i7 Olympic Website, olympics.com.au". The i7 website (www.olympics.com.au) was not the official Olympic Games website, but Network Seven's complementary Games website which was heavily promoted during the 2000 Games coverage. The presence of the web address alerts viewers to the broadcaster's complementary information service and identifies another community open to viewers, that of the internet Games participant. By contrast, very little promotion of complementary web coverage was apparent in the 2004 broadcasts. This could indicate that, four years later there was no need to promote the complementary services provided by the Seven Network, which were no longer named "i7" and had reverted to being accessed simply from the Seven Network website, and/or, that there was no desire to promote the services, for fear that television viewers would become internet viewers.

Not all transition wipes are examples of contextuating programming. In 2000 and 2004, wipes of Olympic rings and ribbons are often used to signal transitions between live event and replay. These wipes are not produced by the network, but are part of the imagery

available to all national broadcasters, are therefore not examples of contextuating programming. Similarly, there are textual overlays that also exist within the pool of imagery for global broadcast. The athlete line-up cards listing, for example, who is in each event, the country they represent and their lane positions are not produced by the national broadcaster, but by the host-broadcaster. Some videographic information during events, for example, the "Laps to Go" indicator, and the text indicating World and Olympic Record times, is also globally available. These examples do not function as contextuating programming because they are not produced in the "local" context by the national broadcaster, but form part of the global footage. Videographic contextuating programming, produced by the local broadcaster is often written over this footage, including the network-produced banners that indicate the name of the event, the event location and the event commentators.

National difference is exemplified in the videographic elements of contextuating programming and coverage I observed from France included banners introducing events, commentators and logos, produced by the French broadcasting network, in addition to the nationally preferenced program material. Some of the transition shots, for example the aerial shots of the Olympic pool, are the same in both the French and Australian broadcast and appear to be globally available and therefore do not function as contextuating programming. Images and montage sequences of Athens, Greece and Greek culture, particularly food, appear in the Australian broadcast, but it is unclear if these are locally produced or globally available. Typically for the Olympics, these shots feature images of the host nation which explicitly remind television viewers of where they are not. These images link communities of viewers to the host nation and to the communities of viewers watching the Olympics as they share, like armchair travellers, the features of places they are not physically in but are a part of through the televised event. The slogan for the Athens 2004 Games was "Welcome Home", a reference to the return of the Olympic Games to Athens. The slogan was very visibly plastered across the surfaces at the swimming arena but what could have been a potentially conflicting slogan for rights-paying broadcasters–for whom their network and station is also "home" to their viewers–was barely visible at other events.

The nationwide broadcast of the Olympic Games utilises an extensive array of contextuating programming techniques that re-locate and re-contextualise the global event into a local articulation for viewers. In addition to the presentation techniques described above (broadcast network commentators and hosts, network-produced cards identifying events, locations and commentators), contextuating programming during the Olympics includes the more commonly found examples of advertising, station logos and IDs and program stings, teasers and trailers.

Rhythmic Patterns of Contextuating Programming

It is possible to consider the coverage of the Olympics as a two-week long program and one that follows a pattern similar to general programming in terms of where contextuating programming is placed within it. Within general programming, there is a hierarchy of contextuating programming that exists. For example, the pattern of contextuating programming within general programming is such that at transitional programming moments (beginnings and endings of programs), more station IDs, logos, promotional material and sponsorship announcements appear. Generally at these moments there is less advertising of specific goods and services, or, when such advertising does appear, it is of a national or global look such that specific locations are rarely referred to. However, the contextuating programming during the program, away from the transitional moments, becomes more localised and regionalised. The increased presence, away from the transitional moments, of advertising of goods and services where locations of providers are identified is more directly identifiable as belonging to and being in a particular place, and a more localised community is both alluded to and specifically addressed.

In the two-week-long program of the Olympics, similar trends in contextuating programming occur. Over the two weeks, the broadcast flows in rhythms that arc over the fortnight including identifiable peaks at the beginning and end of the event. In Chapter 3, I noted that special events provide opportunities for networks to promote a new look or line-up and the Olympics is such a special programming event. At the beginning of the two-week-long program, in the transition from non-Olympics scheduling to Olympic Games broadcast, new station logos and IDs appear. The transition to the Olympic Games

is also an opportunity for new advertisements to appear, some specifically produced for the Olympics and to make reference to the Olympics. Thus within the transitional programming from non-Olympics coverage to the beginning of two weeks of Olympics coverage, new, special, celebratory and ceremonial contextuating programming is premiered. The rights-paying broadcaster celebrates its role with gusto and, well before the 2004 Olympic events began, Channel 7 and its network partners released their Olympic logos and IDs adorned with Olympic rings and announcements confirming their status as Olympic broadcasters. One ID depicts Australian Olympic swimmer Ian Thorpe as a Greek statue who comes to life, then holds up seven fingers and mouths the word "Seven". The male local voiceover announces "You're watching Seven – Australia's Olympic network" as the number 7 is etched into rock evoking ancient Greek architecture. Here an Olympic Games viewing community is directly located in the televisual place of the Seven Network while also placing Australians (through Thorpe) in Greece (through architecture and statues). The Seven Network Olympic space is the place to be for Olympic Games viewers.

Throughout the two weeks of the Olympic Games, the athletic program moves away from the glamour events clustered near the beginning (swimming) and move toward less glamourous events (rowing and women's weightlifting) before returning to glamour events at the end (athletics, particularly running). By the middle of the Games the fanfare has died down a little and the contextuating programming reflects that, returning to the more routine business of localising the programming through more intimate and local references. However, the two-week-long broadcast also exists relationally to more conventional broadcasting rhythm of Australian commercial free-to-air programming where the regular broadcast hour contains up to 15 minutes of contextuating programming. These rhythms overlap with the differences in contextuating programming, such that it can be observed that there are differences in contextuating programming between and within programs, between time-slots and between major and minor events. Thus the more important or high profile the event (a final, or one in which an Australian is competing), or the more important the time-slot (prime time, news-time), the more viewers are expected to be watching. Therefore, depending on the region, there is either an increase in local

contextuating programming (Adelaide, Perth, Geraldton) or an increase in contextuating programming that suggests more national and global communities (Sydney).

Within each day of programming, a similar trend occurs. Each day is divided into two Olympic programs; highlights (or non-live events) and live events programming. Within and around each program, the transitional contextuating programming follows a similar pattern of emphasising broadly national and global interests. During non-transition time, contextuating programming becomes regularly more localised again, as advertisements list store locations and places and people are identifiable as local to Australia, the broadcast region or both. In addition, contextuating programming within the two programs of highlights packages and live event broadcasting still follows the patterns that occur within general programming with regards to the changes in time-slots. That is, changes in contextuating programming are also noticeable as broadcast slots transition, as morning becomes lunchtime, lunchtime becomes afternoon, afternoon becomes prime time and prime time becomes late evening. For example, news updates and promotions increase as programming heads towards news-time and advertisements for alcohol increase once the live program begins and the day becomes late afternoon/early evening (Sydney).

Hierarchy of Contextuating Programming

All contextuating programmming breaks contain a hierarchy of positions within them. The most prestigious positions within the block of contextuating programming are those located closest to program transitions. At these moments, advertisements, if shown at all, are usually singled out and in competition only with station IDs and promos. The next most prestigious spots for advertisements are those closest to the program, that is as first, or last in the transitions from program to contextuating block. The broadcast of the Olympic Games, like other television programs, creates a hierarchy of advertisers, with some advertisers paying more money than others to have their advertisements associated with the Games. In the case of the Olympics, the hierarchy of advertisers also operates globally as companies, attracted to the prospect of the anticipated billions of viewers worldwide, pay for exclusive rights to be Official Olympic Sponsors and to have their advertising appear in global telecasts and associated promotional material worldwide. Some companies, for

example VISA in 2004, pay to be exclusively associated with the Olympics globally, in the lead up to and during the event and much energy and money is spent protecting that exclusive investment. It is no surprise when advertisements for the global sponsors appear during the broadcast and the companies concerned have paid millions to ensure that they do appear. These companies anticipate huge returns from their large investment, but are often subject to "ambush or parasite marketing" that competes with official Olympic sponsors (Twitchell, 1996, p. 140).

Within each broadcast nation, some sponsors pay to become associated with the Olympics nationally and their advertisements can be found in broadcasts nationwide. Additionally, some sponsors in Australia pay to be associated with particular segments of the coverage, blurring the distinction between program and advertisement. Such segments, or "breakers", tend to appear at transitional moments between the simultaneous broadcast of the Olympic Games and what would normally be considered the block of contextuating programming. These segments exist within the network broadcast, and are screened simultaneously nationwide; that is, they ignore the time zone differences across the nation and appear at the same time in the broadcast no matter in which broadcast region you are watching. These segments are a form of contextuating programming because they are a network-produced segment of programming that contextualises the event locally as it promotes a national sponsor. In 2004, the segment "While you were sleeping", sponsored by Qantas (airlines), appeared at regular intervals throughout the broadcast. Located at transitional moments between contextuating programming and the broadcast of the Games, this sponsored segment specifically addressed viewers as located in Australia as it acknowledged that some of the most exciting and nationally relevant action was taking place overnight, while viewers in Australia were asleep. Thus, the "While you were sleeping" segment showing us young Queenslander Anna Meares winning a gold medal in the cycling sprint appeared with a banner at the bottom of the screen indicating that it took place at 12.50 a.m., Sydney time. This segment, sponsored by the national airline, works relationally to cohere a nation of viewers removed temporally and spatially from the action in Greece and from each other because of time zones, to each other and to Games viewers globally.

Major Sponsors and Transitional Programming

Generally transitional contextuating programming is found between programs, but in the Olympic Games it can also be found between segments of the program. That is, as we transition from the studio to the break, we can see a specific type of contextuating programming appear. Where a transition from program to contextuating block does not contain a sponsored segment, it will usually feature an example of the next most important piece of contextuating programming, a breaker, which is a news break, program promo, or major sponsor announcement. In 2004, the major sponsor announcements during the broadcasts across all the regions, with one exception,[36] were, in contrast to the simultaneous broadcasting of the program, all different to each other. Thus companies who paid more for their brands to be associated with the Olympics broadcast did not view Australia as a coherent market, but as comprised of a number of differentiated regions. The long transition between highlights package and live programming in all broadcast regions contains a much longer sponsor announcement than usual, confirming the importance of transitions to broadcaster and sponsor. However, even in the transition segments, where the programming is most likely to look identical across regions, none of the sponsor announcements are exactly the same as each other, including those of the metropolitan stations (Sydney, Perth, Adelaide). Even when contextuating programming is at its most similar nationwide, it still reflects regional differences that exist between local markets, sponsors and broadcasters.

Major sponsors are listed in major sponsor announcements and also have their advertisements scattered throughout the broadcast. The advertisements for major sponsors are located close to the Olympic event, often the first or last of the block of advertisements, and either just after the Olympic programming (including studio spots which usually top

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[36] Bunnings (hardware) and Red Rooster (food) are both announced as sponsors in the simultaneous segment that occurs at approximately 4.30 p.m. in Adelaide and 5.00 p.m. Sydney.

and tail the event), or just before the return to the program. Major sponsors can be nudged further from the proximity of the program by station promos, sponsor announcements and segments or transition images from the program (e.g. shots of Greece). However, if they don't appear, then more often than not this is the spot reserved for the major sponsors and the prime spot for paid advertisements. Major sponsors are usually national brands not linked specifically to a particular region. In 2004, with the exceptions of RAA Insurance (insurance, Adelaide) and Radio Rentals (home appliances), all major sponsors are national no-place brands. Moreover, Radio Rentals (home appliances) is a national brand but its advertisement emphasises its particular local credentials as "SA's biggest electrical retailer". The list of sponsors also reveals something of the local context and community, including what might be of interest to that community. Bunnings Warehouse (hardware, national) and Harvey Norman (home audio-visual and furniture, national) are sponsors of both the 2000 and 2004 Games and feature prominently in all broadcasts across the regions. In 2004, the major sponsor Qantas (airline, national) replaces the sponsor of 2000, Ansett (airline, national–now defunct). In Sydney 2000, major sponsor Telstra (telecommunications, national) advertises along with competitors Optus and AAPT. By 2004 only Telstra's telecommunications services are advertised and the deregulation of handsets and IT providers means that broadband providers, for example Unwired, are advertisers in the Sydney region and the major sponsor LG (home appliances, international) promotes the imaging features of its mobile phones. Westpac (banking and finance, national), a major sponsor and prolific advertiser in 2000, and producer of interesting and endearingly self-reflexive advertising does not appear four years later in 2004. Kodak (film processing, international) in 2000 is replaced by Fuji (digital processing, international) in 2004. Sponsors of the Olympics often celebrate their position by referring directly to the Games in their advertising and in the coverage of the Athens Olympics in 2004, many major sponsors adopted an Olympic flavour and references to Greek culture, including Telstra (telecommunications, national), Bunnings (hardware, national), Retravision (home audio-visual equipment, national), Target (retail, international) and LG (appliances, international).

With the positions closest to the program taken variously by sponsored segments, news breaks, program promos, sponsor announcements and advertisements for major sponsors, the remaining spots within a block of contextuating programming are filled by advertisers, some of whom also adopt the Olympic spirit. Non-sponsors Jenny Craig (weight loss/health, international) and Centrum (vitamin supplements/health, national) used former Australian Olympians in their advertisements while non-sponsor Smith's Crisps (food, international) made explicit reference to the circulating anxiety about whether the infrastructure for the Games would be ready in time, while also parodying official Olympic sponsors (see Appendix B).

Networking and Regional Differentiation

As described in Chapter 2, 1986 saw changes in networking practice in Australia. One of the expected consequences of networking to now larger national markets was an increase for the broadcasters in advertising revenue as:

> the ability to organise national slots encourages the development of national
> markets and diminishes the importance of more context-sensitive regional ones.
> (O'Regan, 1993a, p. 33)

The potential implications of this are obvious however, as national advertising was in existence prior to national programming, and in the "relatively disconnected Australian television system" (O'Regan, 1993a p. 46) prior to networking, advertisers could still advertise nationally as advertising agencies co-ordinated nationwide exposure.

O'Regan (1993a) acknowledges that the resultant simultaneous programming and national programming meant a loss of "programming flexibility and tailoring to local knowledges" (p. 47). However, as I have argued, simultaneous programming is rare and national programming still makes room for the local. As O'Regan (1993a) writes:

> Nationwide programming does not just equal the national, international
> programming does not just represent an internationalism, and local programming

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may only sometimes promote a localism antagonistic to the national. Rather, national cultural formations are formed at the intersection of international, national, regional and local scales. (p. xxiv)

All broadcasters address a "local" audience even while recognising (and constructing) the audience as part of national, international and global communities of viewers.

The seven-hour time difference between Sydney and Athens meant the high profile events of the 2004 Athens Olympics, normally scheduled for prime time viewing in the host-country, were broadcast live very late in the evening and early morning in Australia. My study analyses the major transition from highlights program to live program, but because of the time difference, the live program leads into event heats rather than the more prestigious event finals, thus the fanfare one might expect of such a transition is somewhat minimised. Similarly, my study of the 2000 Sydney Olympics coverage is of the more ordinary Olympic programming of the morning events where there is less excitement in the selection and tone of contextuating programming than in evening events. However, it is still possible to see some patterns in the contextuating programming transitions from highlights to live in the Athens coverage, particularly when looking across the broadcast regions. To analyse the patterns of contextuating programming of the different broadcasts, I divided the detailed logs of my broadcasts into half-hour slots (see Appendix C for sample). Half an hour is a standard programming block on commercial free-to-air television in Australia and most programs are scheduled into half-hour or half-hour multiples most of the time. The first half-hour of the 3-hour sample coverage in each region contained a large number of contextuating programming elements, but in the second and third half-hour slots, as the broadcast heads towards the live coverage, the number declined in terms of actual numbers of advertisements.

The Geraldton broadcast (see Table 3), for example, contains 16 advertisements and promos between 12:00 p.m. to 12:30 p.m. The number of advertisements and promos decreases to 7 between 12:30 p.m. and 1:00 p.m. and then increases slightly to 9 between

1:00 p.m. and 1:30 p.m. During the transition to live programming between 1:30 p.m. and 2:00 p.m., there are 15 advertisements. This rises to 18 between 2:00 p.m. and 2:30 p.m. rises to 18 and peaks at 19 between 2:30 p.m. and 3:00 p.m. This pattern of a decrease then increase in the numbers of advertisements and promos within the block of contextuating programming is repeated across the time-slots and broadcast regions nationally and imitates the rhythms of contextuating programming during non-Olympics programming transitions. That is, as the broadcast moves towards a program transition, the number of advertising spots decreases and as it moves away from the transition the number of advertising spots increases. In addition, as the broadcast moves toward the transition, the advertising becomes more global, or at least "less-local". That is, advertising that is local to the broadcast region decreases leading up to the transition, only to increase after the transition is made. In Geraldton in 2004, local advertising doubled from 4 instances in the half-hour before live programming, to 8, 9 and 8 instances in the three half-hour slots after the transition. This pattern is repeated across all broadcast regions. Sydney, however, is far less dramatic in this shift in terms of being able to identify more or less local advertising. In Sydney, contextuating advertising is focussed on international brands, and the marketing of products that, at least in their advertising representations, exist in no identifiable place. This is not surprising as Sydney is such an enormous market and functions as a global-world city, in which it is difficult to accommodate local down-the-street advertising. In the Sydney examples in both 2000 and 2004, the advertisements that can be directly identified as local to Sydney are limited to (mainly) home furniture stores that list a number of store locations, in addition to news promos that promote their locality by using identifiable Sydney celebrities and skylines.

Table 3

Advertisements and promos during Geraldton broadcast of Athens Olympic Games 2004.

Program	Time	No. of ads and promos	No. of local ads
Highlights	Noon–12:30 p.m.	16	4
Highlights	12:30 p.m.–1:00 p.m.	7	3
Highlights	1:00 p.m.–1:30 p.m.	9	4
Transition	1:30 p.m.–2:00 p.m.	15	18
Live	2:00 p.m.–2:30 p.m.	18	9
Live	2:30 p.m.–3:00 p.m.	19	8

In contrast, Adelaide, which is a smaller metropolitan broadcast region, emphasises its locality constantly be using promos that equate authenticity and accuracy with being local to Adelaide. The Adelaide news promos feature news and sport presenters who refer explicitly to growing up in Adelaide (see Appendix C). Additional promos for the package of news, current affairs and sports programs to be found on Seven, place Adelaide presenters within the broader Seven Network context and Adelaide's Channel Seven personalities are edited together with Seven personalities from other broadcast regions to create a nationalised version of the Seven stable of celebrities. In combination, these promos position the Adelaide news program and its presenters as local and authentic while simultaneously belonging to a wider community of Seven news and sports presenters including those in Melbourne and Sydney. Adelaide's *Seven News* slogan, "Nobody knows Adelaide like *Seven News*" is a play on the slogan for Seven news in other metropolitan markets: "Nobody knows News like Seven". This slogan further reinforces both the connection to the Seven Network family and also its separation from it and confirms the importance, to the station and the local community, of being local.

Further examples of local difference (including the time differences across the broadcast regions) are visible in the types of advertisements during the transitions from morning to afternoon, and from highlights to live programming. Once live events program commences, advertisements for food increase in Adelaide, alcohol advertisements appear and are repeated in Canberra, Sydney and Geraldton, and in Alice Springs advertising for

agricultural products (for example, Bayticol tick spray, Clark water tanks), cars and automotive products increases.

Conversely, all broadcast regions in 2004 contain multiple hardware and automotive (cars, services and accessories) advertisements, some of which explicitly refer to the celebration of Father's Day, which is celebrated in Australia on the first Sunday in September. The references in contextuating programming to this national celebration is an example of how contextuating programming (specifically advertising), and scheduling, also reflect specific national concerns, and how contextuating programming both localises the broadcast and also relationally situates the "local" into the national culture.

watermarks and regionality.

While sponsored segments are broadcast simultaneously across broadcast regions nationally, there is a double layering of localisation in the presence of the regional broadcaster's watermark that appears in the top left-hand corner of the screen. The watermarks (GWN7 in Geraldton, PRIME7 in Canberra and SCB7 in Alice Springs) appear on every image of the broadcasts and so are also present during the sponsor segments ("While you were sleeping" (Qantas), "Seven's high performance moment" (Holden)), studio segments and event transitions. During the actual Olympic event footage the watermark of "7" and the Olympic rings appear in addition to the regional broadcaster's identifying watermark. The only footage that does not carry the regional broadcaster's watermark is the material within the contextuating breaks. Yet as the contextuating breaks contain promotions for programs shown on the regional broadcasting station (but also available in most cases to other network stations), as well as regional broadcasting station IDs, they too carry identifiers of the regional broadcaster. As my log of contextuating programming during the broadcast illustrates (Appendix B), the result is that there is very little footage during the entire broadcast that does not carry some identifier of the regional location. This feature of regional broadcasting is different to that of the metropolitan broadcasters who do not write over their broadcasts to the same degree. Regional audiences are addressed during the broadcasts as being regional viewers by the local broadcaster's watermark, which locates them and the program as part of a local/regional broadcasting

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region, and as members of the networked "Seven" community by the additional watermark that appears during the event footage, and as members of the national community of viewers assembled by simultaneous programming.

In addition, regional broadcasting constructs a different relationship between programming and non-programming. In regional broadcast areas, all programming material speaks of the regional broadcaster and relationships attached to that station-place. The commercial advertisements within contextuating breaks, however, are the spaces of no-place, of not belonging. The advertisements, spared from being written over by the broadcaster's watermark, exist (ironically) outside of the broadcaster's realm. The broadcaster cannot own the advertisements in the same way in which it owns the programs, and in the context of regional broadcasting the advertisements are marked (because they are unmarked) as belonging to no-one and can be screened on any station. When watching television in this context, the promos, IDs and program material, written over by the broadcaster, address a viewer as being located within the network-space context, that is located within the broadcaster's region, watching at the same time as others in that region. The advertisements, however, talk to viewers about where they are in the non-network context, that is of who is available in the local area to buy from, and what, for example, other locals buy, eat, drive, and use to wash their clothes.

local versions.

Regional differentiation is further acknowledged by advertisers who place different versions of their advertisements in different locations. For example, Bunnings (hardware, national) advertised nationally during the broadcasts, but slightly different advertisements were screened in Canberra, Sydney, Geraldton and Adelaide. While viewers who do not travel to other broadcast regions might not be aware of the different versions, and while viewers who do travel might not notice, the fact that there are different versions for different locations means that even in an environment of global corporations, national programming and national advertising, local variation matters to broadcasters and advertisers. In scheduling different advertisements for the same supplier in different regions, viewers are constructed as different consumers in relation to their specific location

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partly because it is economically important to the network and its advertisers to do so. Contextuating programming therefore, expresses and constructs regional differentiations, and relational similarities, and in doing so specific, complex and often contradictory, but always relationally possible, constructions of locations and viewing identities are articulated.

promos.

Evidence of the Australian television networking structure, and the regional differences within it, is revealed in contextuating programming, particularly in the program promos that appear on the station being watched. Program promos can look almost exactly the same across network regions but are localised by voice-overs and logos that refer to specific stations within the network. The Sydney broadcast of the Games, for example, includes repeated promos for the *Seven News,* which feature an identifiable Sydney skyline and Sydney Seven Network news announcers. However, the networking structure is revealed when in 2004 the Sydney *Seven News* also appears in the Alice Springs and Canberra broadcasts, establishing a relationship between the three locations based on networking arrangements. Perth, Adelaide and Geraldton however promote their individual local news services. Similarly in 2000, Perth, Adelaide and Geraldton promote their local services while Sydney's news service is promoted in Wollongong, complete with Prime 7 watermark written over the Sydney promo, explicitly articulating the relationship between the regions, broadcasters and viewers.

In 2004, broadcasters took the opportunity to remind viewers of programs that would return and to promote programs that would commence post-Olympic broadcasting. Not all programs were advertised across all regions, which highlights differences in viewers and broadcasters. The series *Simple Life 2* is advertised in Perth, Geraldton, Adelaide and Sydney, but the Geraldton promo contains references to GWN in the voice-over and logos and therefore confirms the viewing place of the GWN community. Sydney, Perth and Adelaide make no reference to location other than the Seven Network and thus viewers in those regions are addressed as situated in network-space. A program about the pop group ABBA is advertised in Canberra (Prime 7), Geraldton (GWN 7) and Alice Springs (SCB

7), but each region emblazons their promo with their own audio and visual logos and identifications. Promos are one of the ways in which broadcasters assert and establish their identity, advertising themselves and what they offer to viewers. Therefore promos also advertise the identities and locations of viewers and references to GWN or Prime, for example, overtly reinforce the station- and network-places of watching.

community announcements.

Contextuating programming can also contain community awareness announcements and promotions for upcoming community events within the broadcast region. In 2004, Sydney viewers saw only one such announcement during the Olympic Games broadcast which was a promotion for a musical event based on the rock group QUEEN. Adelaide viewers saw local promotions for an Open Day at the Adelaide Festival Centre and an auction to raise money for the Flinders Medical Centre, and Perth viewers saw promotions for the captions facility available while watching television, and for the Perth rail service. These announcements reflect and construct concerns of the region in which the viewing audience is located, and viewers in the GWN (Geraldton) community were informed of a catchment proposal for northern Western Australia and the RSPCA (Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals). Events promoted included a farming machinery open day and a rodeo. Further, two community awareness announcements were made in the GWN broadcast analysed. The first announcement was a "Stop family violence" campaign featuring Aboriginal men talking about stopping violence in the home, and promoting an associated local Health Service. The second announcement promoted safe driving ("We gotta ride inside to stay alive"), featuring an Aboriginal male urging viewers to ride inside the "ute" (car) rather than in the back tray while informing them that there is now a law making riding in the tray illegal. These community announcements and awareness messages reveal something of the GWN community and the issues circulating in that community, and address viewers as part of that community and sharing those concerns.

local business.

Other indicators of local relevance and examples of local differentiation occur when an investment by local businesses in reaching their market through television advertising is articulated. I refer here to advertisements that specifically identify themselves and therefore their viewers as situated in specific locations, including references within the advertisement to where an advertiser can be found within that location. For example, the advertisement for Hansen Jewellers tells the Canberra (Prime 7) viewer that their store is located in the Canberra Centre, next to Grace Bros. This information addresses viewers as if they live locally and assumes these places would be familiar to them. Even nationally franchised stores can modify their address to specifically speak to the locals. Tyrepower (automotive) mentions their stores all around Australia, but specifically lists only those located within the broadcast region, thereby linking the local viewer/consumer to a national community of viewers/consumers but addressing them specifically as geographically located. In 2000, the broadcast in Wollongong featured advertising relevant to the local community including for BHP (Broken Hill Proprietary Limited, mining), the largest employer in the Wollongong/Southern New South Wales region, West Illawarra Leagues Club (gaming, entertainment), and Beaton Park Leisure Centre (health/fitness). However, when read next to advertisements for multi-national brands, including Coke (beverage) and McDonald's (fast food), the communities' interests and concerns are placed relationally to national and global interests and communities.

Other local indicators present in advertising segments of contextuating programming include the provision of contact phone numbers of the advertisers. Some advertisements include phone numbers that, because of their numbering and presence or absence of an identifying area code, are clearly relevant to a specific local area. Others may include a 1300 phone number that indicates that the advertiser has many stores but, for the price of a local call, the phone call will be answered by a local store. Others may include an 1800 phone number, which usually indicates that there are stores nationally, and to contact them will be a free call. These indicators, when apparent in national advertising, speak of relationships between local and national viewers/consumers, broadcasters and advertisers. Other local indicators include the use of an image of the front of the store, often with the

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address that confirms the location, and the use of celebrities identified as being local to particular regions to advertise the store and/or its goods and services. In Adelaide, in both Olympics broadcasts, McLeay's Carpets uses images of their store front and local radio and TV personalities Bob Francis and Jeff Sunderland ("Sundo"), confirming both their celebrity relevance, and the authenticity of the product to a local Adelaide audience.

The necessity to address viewers as local consumers and the differences in contextuating programming across the nation reflect the material markup of broadcasting reach based on economic and technological relationships. Contextuating programming, particularly in the above advertising segment examples, constructs an implicit solidarity between audience members based on particular local audience characteristics. I have also demonstrated with the above examples how contextuating programming works across and within televisual borders while also participating in notions of state borders and constructions of localities. Contextuating programming marks out differences and specificities, and offers viewers multiple identities based on relational notions of local, national and global geographies and communities. Wollongong and Sydney for example are not that far away from each other but contextuating programming addresses viewers as being located in very different spaces with the effect that the notion of an Australian identity is also a regionally specific identity. Viewers, of course, can be members of a number of communities, and it is a fact of television viewing that viewers do belong to many communities simultaneously. In the next section I focus specifically on the Olympic Games broadcasts in Alice Springs where networking structures and contextuating programming offer viewers a particularly complex set of identities.

The Case of Alice Springs

The broadcasts in Alice Springs reveal some of the complexities of the Australian television networking structure in its contextuating programming. There is a much more local feel to the advertising segments than found in Sydney or Perth broadcasts, even though in 2000 the segments contain references to the Queensland towns of Toowoomba, Roma, Townsville and the Atherton Tableland. The presence of these advertisements is related to the fact that Alice Springs was, at that time, receiving its television signal from

Queensland Satellite Television (QSTV) and was operating as Channel Ten in Alice Springs. In fact in 2000, the Alice Springs' Olympics broadcast was the only broadcast that identified itself as regional through the watermark "tal" (Ten Alice Springs, but in the lower case of the "ten" Network) during the Olympic events, with the watermark appearing above the number 7 and the Olympic rings. Alice Springs viewers were thus already in a complex relationship with Ten, Seven, and Queensland communities. By the time the Athens Olympics commenced in 2004, Channel 10 had become Channel 7 in Alice Springs and in the 2004 coverage the watermark SCB 7 and Olympic rings appears, acknowledging the change in broadcasting context. SCB7 (Seven Central) is actually Southern Cross Central, one of the stations owned by Southern Cross Broadcasting and viewers in Alice Springs are watching what other viewers in the Southern Cross Central community are watching. Southern Cross Broadcasting owns a number of regional stations and a number of Southern Cross advertisers appear in the Alice Springs broadcast, including "The Black Toyota Polocrosse club supported by Southern Cross Ten" screened on Seven Central. Further, because Channel 7 has the rights to the Olympic Games, and SCB7 takes its programming from Seven Sydney for the most part, a Seven's Sydney news update appears as does an advertisement for Nick Scali furniture that lists all NSW stores. Later in the broadcast there is a Seven Queensland news update. Holden Alloytec (automotive) is the only major sponsor in the Alice Springs broadcast and almost every non-program segment includes a Holden advertisement or announcement of some sort. This is very different to the other broadcast regions where many broadcast sponsors and telecast partners are referred to. It is possible that the lone sponsor reflects the enormous reach of Central Seven as it crosses geographic borders, and that it might be too difficult to find relevant major sponsors for such an area. Contradicting this however, is the high number of advertisements that specifically mention locations far removed from Alice Springs including locations in Queensland (Toowoomba, Julia Creek, Mt Isa), Northern Territory, Western Australia, NSW regional (Tamworth) and NSW metropolitan (Sydney and suburbs). This wide reaching local community represented in the Alice Springs broadcast is constructed by the networking structure of the Australian television system but reinforced and actioned in the contextuating programming which addresses Alice Springs viewers unproblematically as it advertises a sale of bulls in Toowomba, Queensland, for example. Here the contextuating

programming is evidence that the televisual borders are very different to state borders, and produces a different set of relationships and communities to viewers within those televisual borders than those enacted at a state level.

Repeated advertising for online courses suggests that education and qualifications received via online distance learning are viable services to remote regional communities. Repeated advertisements calling for nurses to work at remote aboriginal communities in Western Australia explicitly refer to the work as challenging and highlight that accommodation is of a high standard, revealing something of concerns particular to those communities. An advertisement for The Seat Cover Man (auto accessories) appears to promote someone who travels the country selling sheepskin car seat covers. The card at the end of the advertisement, read out in part by an Australian-accented male voice-over, lists the towns The Seat Cover Man will be travelling to, including exactly where to find him in those towns. For example, in Kununurra he will be selling his seat covers at the Kununurra Hotel and, in Charleville, he will be next to the railway station. The dates and places listed give a clear picture of where The Seat Cover Man will be, how many miles he will travel, and where and when he will turn around to go back the other way, as he appears in some towns twice during his "tour". Here, in an outback inflection of the door-to-door salesman, the contextuating programming reveals features of the community in which we are watching, including something of the economic situation, and the kinds of employment undertaken by those who live there.

Within this wide community of viewers there appears to be more advertising that features imagery and other references to notions of "country". "Blokey" voices and men seen in farming gear, advertisements for farming products, bull sales, references to the outback, and its dangers (Cooper tires [*sic*], for example), to things that will last and to the land, are repeated in the advertising segments. The advertisement for Cooper tires [*sic*] features Mike Leyland; known to older Australian viewers from the documentary/adventure series, *Ask the Leyland Brothers*. Mike therefore carries with him an authenticity relating to conquering and surviving the outback. However, the tyres are American, a fact that is referred to in the advertisement and thus an interesting counter to Mike's "ocker" image

and accent as he promotes an American product. While this advertisement appears—and is repeated—only in the Alice Springs broadcast, it is followed the first time it appears by an advertisement for Australian country/pop singer Kasey Chambers who is marketed as having country girl roots, which is a quality that is equated with being authentic, simple and down to earth. While she is marketed as not being global and/or from the US, her single is called "Hollywood" and is referred to explicitly in her advertisement, with her singing; "This is not Hollywood, there are no cameras in my room". The combination of Mike and Cooper tires [sic] and Kasey and "Hollywood" suggests a complex relationship between the US and Australia, particularly in rural Australian broadcast regions. Repeated meanings of authentic outback country people circulate in these segments of advertising.

Some advertisements in the Alice Springs broadcasts make no reference at all to local place. Advertisements for Clark Tanks (agricultural) don't appear in any of the other broadcasts across Australia, and make no reference to a specific location, but the advertisements are in alignment with the range of agricultural/farming products advertised in the Alice Springs/SCB7/Southern Cross Broadcasting regional market.

These specific instances of contextuating programming cumulatively address a particular viewer. For example, while the Alice Springs broadcast contains some advertising that appears in other broadcasts, cumulatively it shares features of the broadcast from Geraldton in that there is a predominance of what I have termed "agricultural advertising". That is, much of the advertising refers specifically to farming and farming products, or it invokes the rural space as it uses exaggerated "bush" language and speech patterns, images and terminology. The particular products are different, but Geraldton and Alice Springs share the same types of address in their advertising, even while they are in different time zones, and while Alice Springs exists in a very different televisual region to Geraldton. The case study of the broadcasts seen by viewers in Alice Springs demonstrates the complex identities offered viewers in some areas of networked televisual Australia.

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SBS and the 2004 Olympic Games

In 2004, Seven and SBS operated under a broadcast agreement that enabled viewers to watch entire events on SBS, which had the official title of Associate Olympic Broadcaster. This important agreement was referred to extensively on the SBS website, but barely mentioned at all on the Seven website. The presentation of the Olympic events broadcast on SBS is similar to the presentation of those broadcast on Seven. The SBS coverage begins with the same announcement, the same montage openings, and the same cross to studio as the nationally broadcast elements of the Seven broadcast. Once in the studio the coverage, and therefore viewers, become identified as local to SBS, as the station locality is identified by the SBS watermark in top right of the screen, and through the appearance of SBS station identity Les Murray. All the card inserts (for example, "coming up") are in the same style, font, and colour as those found on the Network Seven coverage as are the contextuating techniques employed at the beginning and during events. The banners, text and ordering of information are the same as Network Seven but during these broadcasts the SBS watermark remains. The presence of these features articulates the contextual relationship between SBS and Seven and clearly locates SBS and their viewers relationally to the Seven Network and viewers.

Localised Nation

This chapter has demonstrated how contextuating programming is integral to the formation of the national culture in that it explicitly articulates various identities that must intersect in the construction of such an identity. A global media event such as the Olympics provides an opportunity for those intersections and the sites of intersection to be explicitly articulated, and, because of the place of contextuating programming within the broadcasts, it resonates and plays with national and local identities, reinforcing some and not others while also highlighting the range of identities available to viewers, including local identities (for example, Geraldton viewer, farmer, rural, authentic, outback) which are regionally specific. As noted in the previous chapter, contextuating programming functions differently in relation to modes of address between and across programs, and within different genres of contextuating programming. My examples of broadcasting across Australia illustrate how

contextuating programming marks out differences and specificities within and between a range of suggested identities and localities specific to the local broadcasting context, where local, as identified through contextuating programming, invokes a complex system of local, national and global communities, identities and locations simultaneously.

It is interesting to note just who is watching these articulations of Australian viewers. More than 51% of all television viewers watching between 6:30 p.m. and midnight were watching the Olympics (McIntyre, 2004), and in the language of advertising and broadcasting where viewers become demographics, the largest demographic watching the Olympics in Australia was the group known as AB viewers. AB viewers are the well-heeled consumer, "an educated and generally more cashed-up mob" and a highly desirable market for advertisers (McIntyre, 2004). Channel Seven could claim that 37.2% of its prime time audience during the Olympics was in the AB group, compared with 18.4% of ABs watching Nine and 14.8% watching Ten. The next largest demographic watching the Olympics was the 40-54 year old group, or baby boomers, which made up 34.7% of the Olympic Games watching audience. While the "elite viewers [are] watching elite athletes" (McIntyre, 2004), they are being addressed by contextuating programming as being from a range of classes and regions within a specific set of meanings constructed about who they might be and where they are located.

The contextuating programming of the broadcast of the Olympic Games is an example of both the complexity of national identity and the ways in which the concept of the nation and the localised inflections of it are entangled even if that entanglement is antagonistic (Ellis, 2000). Further, Ellis (2000) recognises that a national identity is only one possible identification available, and argues that:

> it is not one that lends itself very easily to commodification either. Once you have stuck the national flag as a logo on a range of products, and marketed a few "typical" products to tourists, there is nothing much left to do. (p. 70)

However, my analysis of the specific examples of broadcasting across Australia demonstrates how the nation can be—and is—commodified as viewers are addressed as consumers (potential and current) of products and programs that invoke both national and regionally inflected identities.

A global media sporting event such as the Olympic Games is enormous in its realisation. In its saturation, and in its variety of different delivery formats, the Olympic Games is an example of excess in television. Ellis (2000) writes of two television eras: scarcity and availability. In the era of scarcity, "the assumption is that the audience is a mass audience with relatively few differentiations" and "in which it was quite natural to assume that anyone would probably have seen the same programme [*sic*] as you" (pp. 71-72). It is worth noting that this is a particularly British phenomenon for simultaneous broadcasting was quite late to come to Australia. Ellis (2000) continues:

> But in the era of availability, no such convenient assumption can be made. The audience has fragmented, and television programmes [*sic*] can no longer claim, as they could in the era of scarcity, that they were definitive…. Now audiences have choice, and no one programme [*sic*] can assume that it has the same level of social importance as its equivalent had in the era of scarcity. (p. 72)

During the Olympic Games of 2000, Network Ten, one of Network Seven's competitors, acknowledged the lack of importance of its own programming, while also acknowledging the importance to viewers of such a media event. Ten instituted "The Gap", a break in programming that occurred when "important" Olympic events were taking place. In doing so, Channel 10 viewers could switch to Channel 7 and return knowing they would not have missed any of the program they were previously watching. Viewers were in fact encouraged to switch to Channel 7 by this interruption to their program for having literally interrupted whatever was screening at the time on Channel 10 there was little incentive for Ten viewers not to go. Contextuating programming too acknowledges the consequences of the era of availability and with the exception of the example just cited, constantly reminds and entices viewers to remain where they are. For as Ellis (2000) states, "television

promotes the consumerism of choice through its display of options and styles, playing a key role in developing the process of differentiation" (p. 72). Contextuating programming supports and confirms the processes of differentiation while also using network and station differentiation as an enticement for viewers to remain loyal to particular station- and network-spaces.

Glocal Heroes

In 2004, the Olympic Games brought together a viewing community of 3.9 billion people watching the live events. Hartley (2000) writes about the "liveness" of TV, a feature not present in media such as cinema, and the ways in which liveness connects viewers to both the broadcast event and to others watching the event. He writes of the liveness as community- and nation- building, describing its function as:

> linking a nation together in front of one event, or one show. It wasn't long before television could link people from different nations together as well; it was able to domesticate a sense of global belonging, and equate its audience with *humanity* [author's italics], never mind "our country". (Hartley, 2000, pp. 157-158)

The contextuating programming of the Olympic Games promotes the collective global community of viewers and the Olympic Games itself actively advertises and promotes the audience and athletes *as* humanity, explicitly through the "Celebrate Humanity" series of advertisements that appeared during the 2000 and 2004 Games (see Appendix C for examples). These promotions present the international Olympic community (athletes and spectators) as humanity, as they place visual montages of athletes, and occasionally spectators, from a number of Olympic Games events against a soundtrack of poetic readings about greatness and humanity. Within this articulation of humanity are explicit references to the disabled as one promo features the blind singer Andrea Boccelli, another the quadriplegic actor Christopher Reeve, and the visual montage in both features boxer Muhammed Ali, before he developed symptoms of Parkinson's disease.

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In contrast, the 2000 sponsor, IBM (information technology), advertising that it powers the olympics.com site, chose to represent itself as being very local, as it featured the town of Parkes, New South Wales, home of the Australian Olympic hockey player Stephen Davies (see Appendix C for description). In an example of "glocalization" (Robertson, 1995, p. 26) where "much of the promotion of locality is in fact done from above or outside", the global company IBM promotes regional Australian locations and values. This humorous advertisement features a town crier on horseback riding through the main street yelling "Stephen's in the Olympics!" At the end of the advertisement, two elderly ladies, who have clearly had enough of the fuss, yell back at the crier, "We knooooow". Here the "local boy gone global" is placed quite specifically and endearingly in his home town. Shot in home video style with the air of amateurism, Stephen is seen mixing with the locals, greeting the town barber and an elderly lady in the street and in a small town parade holding the Olympic flag. He is also shown sitting next to the Parkes telescope, technology utilised by the USA to track space movements, a symbol of how a small town can provide/be a world player.[37] The local boy is going global by going to the Olympics, and so are the viewers watching at home.

Similarly, Sydney 2000 sponsor Westpac (finance) promoted itself and its involvement in the Olympics through a series of advertisements depicting the parent/s of some of the Olympic athletes attempting the athletic feats for which their children were famous (see Appendix C for an example). The Westpac advertisements specifically foregrounded the family, reinforcing simultaneously the Olympian abilities of the children and the ordinariness of their families, and in doing so linked the world players to the people back home (viewers), watching their achievements. The focus on home, family and the nation as a collective home/family was a feature of the contextuating programming of 2000, when the Olympic Games took place "at home" for viewers in Australia.

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[37] The same telescope and its function is depicted in the Australian film *The Dish* which also plays on the oppositional characteristics of small town Australia with world player USA.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have demonstrated how contextuating programming differs across broadcast regions of Australia during simultaneous broadcasting. By analysing coverage of the Olympic Games I have demonstrated how the localising and contextualising features of contextuating programming function during programming in which the nation is foregrounded. The presence of localising features such as watermarks, studio commentary, local transitions and banners, works to create relationships between the local, national and international spaces and construct a specific Australian viewer situated relationally within those spaces.

My example of the broadcast in Alice Springs illustrated how regional viewers of television in Australia are addressed as part of a complex network of communities, often in contrast to the geographic communities constructed by state and territory borders. Broadcasts in Alice Springs featured local identifiers in almost all of its programming and yet this local station-space reached from Northern Territory to South Australia, to New South Wales, Victoria and Queensland. The address of contextuating programming localises and relationalises all those places into a connected local station-place, which is, in turn, relationally situated to the national network-space and an Australian nation.

By examining a cross-section of the Australian commercial free-to-air coverage on Channel 7 of the Sydney Olympics in 2000 and the Athens Olympics in 2004, I have illustrated how contextuating programming offers viewers a range of identities and memberships of communities within a broadcast that overtly suggests a nation, including a national community that is regionally articulated.

CHAPTER 5: THE FIFTH PHASE

"Can you tell me how to get, how to get to Sesame Street?"

Sesame Street theme song

Many of my childhood memories are also memories of television. I remember watching "Sesame Street" in Adelaide and knowing there was no street like that in my suburb. Where was Sesame Street? I went there every afternoon on television, but I wasn't sure it was a real place and I think I knew then that I was watching television made elsewhere. I now realise my memories of television are of programs mostly made elsewhere: "Top Cat", "Love American Style", "The Brady Bunch", "Lost In Space", "HR Puff 'N' Stuff", "The Bugaloos", "Time Tunnel", "Land of the Giants", "Gilligan's Island", "Julia", "That Girl", "Days of Our Lives", "Dr. Who", "The Goodies". Did I know then that they were made in America? England? Did I know where America was? What it was? There were a few programs I knew were made here, with some more local to me than others. I knew "Fat Cat and Friends" was made here because my name was drawn out of the barrel in a Snakes and Ladders competition once and while I missed out on a major prize I did win tickets to a special "Fat Cat and Friends" party. I don't know exactly what I expected but I was shocked at how obvious it was that there was someone inside that suit when I saw the Big Cat in the artificial fur in the flesh.

John Martin's Christmas Pageant was televised and I knew that it was the staff of the Adelaide store—and their families—in the parade. Some years I would go to the pageant with my friend and her family, and see it for real, and we would get there early and take turns at watching the parade from the top of the ladder we'd brought with us to ensure a good view. The best view was actually from home, on television, but like the ads for Rugby League tell us, it's never the same unless you're there. Wisely, the ads don't claim that it's better to be there. Watching the pageant on TV was never the same as being there, and the guy in the Father Christmas suit didn't look anywhere near as terrifying as the Big Cat. At the end of the pageant, Father Christmas arrived at the entrance to John Martin's and set himself up in the Magic Cave until Christmas Eve. It was a huge event to

visit the Magic Cave, where you could ride the white pony float from the pageant, pick up a
Magic Cave Christmas stocking full of lollies and little toys and games, and tell Father
Christmas what you wanted for Christmas. The arrival of Father Christmas in the Magic
Cave was the sign that we could put up the Christmas tree in our house. The television
event was the signal to us that Christmas could begin and the televising of the event
mapped directly onto the domestic ritual. I can't remember the first year I didn't go to the
pageant. There were a few years when it wasn't televised, and John Martin's doesn't exist
any more, but a Christmas pageant is still held each year and it's back on Adelaide
television screens in November and is repeated on Christmas Day.

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Chapter Overview

In the previous chapters I have outlined the features and functions of contextuating programming, and provided examples of how contextuating programming contextualises and localises viewers and programs within the Australian television system. In Chapter 1, I provided a description of the Australian television context, for it is this context in which contextuating programming operates, and it is this context which is reflected in contextuating programming. I relied on Cunningham's (1997, 2000) four phase history for a description of how the Australian television system came to be as it is, and in this chapter I will outline some possibilities for where television might be headed in the fifth phase of television in the Australian system. I consider what the television system might look like in the near future, and suggest what this and future uses of television might mean for us as viewers, for just as our television past produced the features and functions of current contextuating programming, so too will our television future.

The Fifth Phase: 2005 Onwards

Television Formats

Cunningham's (1997, 2000) four phase history accounts for the period of television in Australia up until the late 1990s. Television will continue to change as new technologies, policies and media and communication formats are introduced and evolve. "Television"

now encompasses the formats of cable, satellite and terrestrial free-to-air television and pay TV, high definition, widescreen and digital and the television set is now a monitor for playing games, watching CD-ROMS, videos, and DVDs, and viewing photographs and home movies on a variety of formats.

Video and DVD

Suppliers of the formats viewed on television sets also undergo change. Appleton (1997) describes the video rental market in Australia in 1995 and predicted then that video rental stores would seek to increase their revenue by "diversifying into games and CD-ROMs" (Appleton, 1997, p. 165). Ten years later and video stores in 2005 look for increased revenue from snack food and drinks, products that equate the video rental experience with that of going to the cinema, an equation duplicated by the manufacturers of television sets and audio technology as they promote the home theatre/cinema. Video stores have further expanded their product range to include milk, newspapers, phone cards and mobile phone top-up cards, and in doing so have become part video store, part convenience store.

Appleton (1997) predicted that DVDs "would replace videotapes, audiotapes, and CD-ROMs over the next few years" (p.187). This prediction looks likely to become reality as video rental stores stock an increased range of games and an ever-increasing range of DVD entertainment titles for rent and sale and a diminishing range of videos. DVDs are also found for sale in DVD specialty stores, with many titles cheap to buy and costing far less than the price of videos when they were first released. DVDs are now available for purchase outside of specialty stores, and can be found in supermarkets, newsagents, and petrol stations and the proliferation of DVD titles will continue to expand as product formerly on video is re-released on DVD. This move replicates the technological shift that occurred when music recordings were transferred from vinyl to CD format. DVD is also available as a format for home recording, both on home video cameras, and home DVD players and recorders. DVD players and recorders are now cheaply available, in part to compete with pay TV and the prospect of movies on demand to the television set. DVD players are now available for as little as A$50 and with the replacement of video

technology with DVD technology nearing completion it is almost impossible to purchase a stand alone video recorder. DVD recorders, once highly priced, are now relatively affordable with some models available for around A$300 and DVD players are now installed in cars and computers. Large home theatre television sets are, however, still very expensive, costing in their thousands of dollars. Video, remote control, pay-per-view and digital technology have changed the concept of watching television to include individualised programming and viewers are now their own programmers as they rent or purchase content for viewing at their convenience. There is now a new set of social interactions in social spaces around television that were previously unavailable, for example, the transactions and interactions involved in choosing and paying for content that take place outside of the home.

Digital Television

Digital television commenced in 2001 in Australia, however, viewers have been slow on the uptake. Pay TV viewers have adopted the digital option more quickly than free-to-air viewers, and more than half of the 1.5 million pay TV subscribers (Tasker, 2005) are subscribing to digital services with their enhanced features and multi-channeling. This number translates to approximately 6 % of the 7.8 million households with television in Australia, which compares poorly with the figure of 70 % of households in Britain who have taken up digital television (Hull, 2005). The free-to-air digital environment simply does not have the enhancements and features to entice viewers and multi-channeling is unsupported by the networks with pay TV interests (Nine and Ten), a position supported by government policy that restricts digital broadcasting to only one high definition channel per network (Hull, 2005). Currently viewers who do not subscribe to pay TV need to buy expensive sets and/or set top decoders to access digital quality sound and vision, without multi-channeling, on the commercial free-to-air channels. It remains to be seen what the impact of digital television will be in the free-to-air television environment, including how contextuating programming will function in such an environment, but the impact of digital television could be phenomenal as a range of practices becomes available via the one delivery platform and there is the potential for both television and programs to be something quite different to what they are currently. However, government policy, the

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commercial interests of Networks Nine and Ten and viewer demand will need to change for that to occur.

Community Television

The fifth phase of Australian television will see community TV continue to attempt to find its bandwidth. The uses of television by community groups will continue and the granting of community licences to regional areas, broadcasting on the Channel 31 frequency, continues to be rolled out and regulated by the ABA (ACMA). Cunningham (1997) writes that community TV "will provide an important counterweight to the space-indifferent national networking that is causing the eclipse of localism throughout the country" (p. 107). However, I have argued that localism is very much present in the non-program material of networked television, and that networks are not "space-indifferent" but rather are relationally represented through regional stations. Moreover:

> Commercial television networks, which long opposed regulation for Australian content on the grounds that Australian programs were too expensive, now acknowledge that local programs are essential to a successful program strategy (Appleton, 1997, p. 179).

There were expectations that as pay TV gathered more viewers, and as there would be further shakeup in ownership and regulation, that community stations would move to cable channels. However, it is unclear what the future relationship will become, and Flew and Spurgeon predict a cautious future because of the potential conflict between community groups and commercial interests, and the lack of proven support from governments (Flew & Spurgeon, 2000, p.80). Community uses of video, DVD and web technology will continue to increase as user groups, particularly those of Non-English Speaking Background (NESB), continue their traditions of importing, distributing and circulating recordings of media and other communications from their communities.

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Pay TV

The impact of digital free-to-air television on pay TV is difficult to determine, but there does appear to be evidence, including the changed features of contextuating programming I have noted, to suggest that both free-to-air television and pay TV programming have changed because of the existence of pay TV. Flew and Spurgeon write that children's television in particular has felt the impact of pay TV with the provision of dedicated channels such as Nickelodeon (Flew & Spurgeon, 2000, p. 76). Quoting figures from *AdNews,* Flew and Spurgeon write that a large share of the children's market—up to 21%—had moved to pay TV in 1999 (Flew & Spurgeon, 2000, p.76). The niche marketing programming of pay TV continues to be imitated by Network Ten with its focus on youth programming, and pay TV is regulated to supply and produce Australian drama content which may have a flow-on effect on programming on free-to-air television. The impact of pay TV on free-to-air programming across the different television systems is an area for further research.

A key factor in shaping the television future will be the take-up rates of the various technologies, which will in part be implicated by what Flew (2002) calls the "digital divide". Consumers with higher incomes will likely move to the pay TV environment and other "new services" resulting in:

> a deterioration in the quality and range of programming on the free-to-air services, as well as the movement of premium content such as sports and movies to the pay TV sector. (Flew, 2002, p. 185)

The success of pay TV is, however, not assured in a culture that has experienced a history of, for the most part, the best of US, UK and Australian product, as well as an unique choice of programming in other languages and from other cultures through SBS, and an excellent range of locally produced drama and mini-series, all for free. However, the deterioration of free-to-air television is being assisted by the policies surrounding digital television which prohibit the implementation of the enhancements it is capable of providing, and the environment seems to be one in which the companies with interests in

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pay TV are working to encourage viewers switch to their services before switching to digital television. While viewers and advertisers have yet to leave free-to-air television, the continued interest in the multi-channel environments of digital pay TV services and the existing niche marketing strategies of pay TV programming will continue to attract advertisers and audiences.

Advertising

Advertisers still prefer the mass audience delivered to them by commercial free-to-air television and the collation of audience preferences on pay TV is yet to achieve the sophistication of free-to-air television. The revenues raised by advertising on pay TV is negligible, running at approximately 1 % of revenues raised in the commercial free-to-air environment (Peters, 1999 in Flew & Spurgeon 2000, p. 71) and it is not clear what form advertising will take in the digital environment. Balnaves (2002b) suggests that, "DTV [digital television], through customisation, has the potential to eliminate random channel surfing and enhance collection of information about specific target audiences" (pp. 300–301). However, in an environment in which individuation of programming is becoming the norm and technologically encouraged, "the mass audience put together by advertising is now splintering" (Twitchell, 1996, p.247) and we will see the return to "advertiser-sponsored and/or produced programs in order to integrate ads and programming" (Twitchell, 1996, p.247).

Lifestyle programming, including programs such as *Oprah* and *Dr. Phil,* regularly feature products within their program as giveaways to members of the audience, with a plug from the host and occasionally an appearance and quick sell from a representative of the company. *Big Brother* features in-show product advertising including the prizes given to contestants and the continuous advertising of Dreamworld, the location of the *Big Brother* house. Twitchell (1996) writes of The Advertising Information Service, who monitor US television to ensure that sponsors' products appear and are identifiable during programs. This advertising agency owned company ensures that "Budweiser beer is drunk at Roseanne's house, whereas Stroh's is served over at *Cheers*" (p. 93). Lane (2005) reports on research investigating product placement in programs, as "ad-dodging" takes hold and a

US study has shown that of 72% of audiences who use personal video recorders (PVRs) are skipping advertisements (Lane, 2005, p. 22).

I have noted that there is research that indicates that advertisements are rarely successful at selling products. Advertisements do, however, present images and identities to play with and, I have argued, create and connect communities of viewers. If advertising of products moves to counter ad-avoidance by increased sponsorship of programs and product placement within programs, then I predict that contextuating programming will continue to encroach further into the space of the program. As I demonstrated in Chapter 4 in my analysis of television broadcasting in Alice Springs, it is already the case that there is very little program material that does not contain some form of contextuating programming and local identifiers within it, particularly in regional Australia. Further:

> Interactive capacity may well spell the end of the carpet style of advertising, in which advertisers hope to pick up a few customers by covering many.... Viewers may even have to request advertising. The audience may target the ad rather than have the agency target the audience. (Twitchell, 1996, p. 247)

The audience is seen to be fragmenting as niche marketing and narrowcasting disrupts the perception of the mass audience. However, I believe that the mass audience has always been made up of niche audiences, and therefore the audience has always been multiplicitous. The 3.9 billion viewers watching the Olympic Games, while certainly a mass audience, comprised a whole range of viewers, for example, women, men, children, women aged over 18, the ABs, people aged over 55. While watching the Olympics I was addressed by advertising in contextuating programming as many identities, including a wife, a woman, a man, a home renovator, someone who thinks a car is all about technology, a breakfast cereal eater, and a photographer. Only some of these identities align with my lived identities. I was addressed as an Australian, an Olympic Games viewer, as a Channel 7 and/or their affiliate viewer, and an SBS viewer. I traveled while the Games were on and I was addressed as a member of all of the above communities and as having all of the above identities, in addition to being situated in a number of locations. Advertisers and advertising

sections of television stations deal in the demographic, and the carving up of the audience into consumer groups. While the ability to count total numbers of viewers allows the Nine Network to call itself "Still the One" as it regularly captures the highest number of viewers nationally across programs, in practice what is important to advertisers, networks and stations is the audience divisions of smaller communities of viewers, according to age groups, spending patterns and location. As niche markets intensify so will contextuating programming as it endorses the identities assumed within each niche.

Convergence and Diversification

The fifth phase of television in Australia will encompass continued convergence and diversification of communication industries but there are complexities surrounding the take-up of services promising an uncertain future. Silverstone (1994) writes that as broadcasting loses its impact, "audiences will increasingly become, more literally, consumers, buying and owning software and hardware, and paying for telecommunicated services" (p.176). Yet, not all consumers are able or want to pay for the new services, and not all regions have access to them. Balnaves (2002a, 2002b) writes of the complexities surrounding the supply of broadband services to people, noting that "Australia's competitive telecommunications environment, however, has delivered no single strategy for delivering advanced broadband infrastructure" (Balnaves 2002b, p. 295), and that "the acceptance of new media often varies from country to country" (Balnaves 2002b, p. 295). Predictions abut how Australians will use new media are often based on the experience in other countries, a strategy that backfired in terms of predicting pay TV take-up rates in Australia. Balnaves (2002a, 2002b) writes of a trial undertaken in the Canberra suburb of Gungahlin where research into the community's expectations of internet and pay TV services revealed that "personality and information-seeking strategies have an important role in determining how people cope, or deal, with choices and use of telecommunications, computers and media" (2002b, p. 298). The demand in Gungahlin for the internet was high, whereas the demand for increased broadband pay TV was not. However, the local provider ACTEW (also a gas and electricity provider) went ahead and cabled houses in the Canberra region. I have noted that the pay TV provider involved in the study (now Transact) is undergoing difficulties providing programming content to its subscribers.

These complications I mention illustrate how difficult it is to predict how new technologies and media will be made available to people. Predicting the state of pay TV in the coming years is difficult and the connections between internet and cable technologies and the interests of the owners of those technologies is unclear. While there is much promise surrounding digital television, it is unclear as to what it will hold and how well it will be accepted by the viewing population. Moreover, the idea of a broadband connected Australian net and digital television user is destabilised by the fact that broadband is not available in all areas of Australia. Even within one city one cannot assume all people have access to the same technologies as in Canberra, for example, where ACTEW, cabled many, but not all, homes even before factoring in whether people have the economic means, or not, to pay for them. The example of Alice Springs demonstrates how complex "television" is in some parts of Australia and I expect similar complications to appear across regions of Australia as new media forms are introduced. Similarly, the excitement surrounding the functions associated with new generations of mobile phones will again be tempered by the reality that some regions of Australia will be technologically disadvantaged and that some users will be marginalised due to economic and geographic circumstances.

The fifth phase of television in Australia sees a complex and somewhat predictable continued closing down of the range of players in pay TV, a rapid concentration of media ownership and a diversification of media interests and delivery platforms. Within this environment it appears that the government is letting go of regulatory control even while communities are insisting it is necessary. As regulations struggle to contain the pay TV, web and mobile phone environments in terms of content and usage, displaying both fear and lack of imagination about possibilities and uses, it appears that television is shaping the future uses of the internet, with, for example, ninemsn, combining the Nine Network and Microsoft interests, positioning itself as a gateway to internet services as well as a site for program promotions and fan sites. It appears that any move to internet broadcasting will be supplied by an already constricted range of providers and owners. Meanwhile the uses of the internet and mobile phones continue to defy regulation as terrorist groups use the internet as a video and communications broadcast and circulation medium, mobile phones are used to activate bombs and record the events and aftermath and unregulated users

become forensic evidence gatherers and agents of community surveillance. It is unclear how much regulation, or what kind of regulation will be required for the future formats. The consequences of the inability to predict how the new formats will be used, and thus how best to manage their uses and protect the rights and well-being of citizens, will only become obvious after the fact.

The fifth phase of the Australian broadcasting system will see the television set as the site where a number of industries will battle it out for screen time and it is likely the television set will have increased capabilities to function like a large screen computer. Flew (2002) refers to Long's (1999a, 1999b) predictions and sees audience-centred scheduling through "personal video recording devices such as TiVo" (p.183). Digital television and personal video recorders will anticipate what we want to watch, and our programs and advertising will become more tailored to us as users and consumers, but still related to our geographical location as we continue to be the nexus between local provider of media and local provider of products that we want and need. Further, television will become "the conduit for Internet-type services, which will in turn require a transformation of the internet from a predominantly text-based service to one where content is re-purposed for viewing on televisions" (Flew, 2002, p.183), and "in such an environment, distinctions between pay TV and free-to-air TV, or even between TV and the Internet, blur to the point of disappearing" (Flew, 2002, p. 183). However, as television sets become bigger and the promotion of home theatre intensifies, it is difficult to imagine some of the solo pursuits of the computer taking place in the lounge room or home theatre. Rather, it appears that the functions of email, websurfing, and general information retrieval will move with the mobile population, literally, as the mobile phone becomes the camera, the screen, the internet, the phone and the television. How contextuating programming will change within this environment is unclear; however, the investment by advertisers and providers in addressing users as members of user communities, particularly the community of consumers of their products, is enormous and I anticipate contextuating programming will intensify.

The differences in local markets are differences to be recognised and marketed and it is in the advertiser's interest to speak to niche tastes situated within specific contexts for

their advertising to have meaning. Within this environment, advertising and other contextuating programming will become more targeted to local broadcast contexts. There will be a further localisation that will occur as media and communication forms, and their users, become more mobile. There will be an increase in "individualising" advertising and contextuating programming, and we are already seeing this as our mobile phones receive SMS messages from providers and other companies. Real Estate agents text property details to us based on our registered preferences. Providers text us details of specials we might want to take advantage of, based on our current usage. A form of contextuating programming appears now on mobile phone services as providers address subscribers in terms of network reach by identifying their geographic location on screen. It is highly likely that we will be messaged by mobile phone providers when we get to where we are going, who will tell us what is there, letting us in on the local context in the same way that some elements of contextuating programming on television do now. Websites allow us to personalise our entry points into the web, and create our home page from a pre-selected set of options. We can personalise our share price information, our weather reports, our mobile phone ring-tones, which in effect makes us our own contextuating programmers. Our email inbox is full of advertising that relates to where we have already been and shown an interest. Soon our web browsers will advertise what we have already shown a preference for, and, like teasers for television programs, what we are assumed to be interested in, because of an interest we already have. In addition, as digital television also shares features of the web, the sponsorship model of advertising, successful on the web, might be found to be more appropriate to the medium than the current practice on television of the 15 and 30 second advertisement (Rebello 1996 as cited in Balnaves 2000b, p.301).

Conclusion

It is also unclear what the new formats will mean for the relationship between free-to-air television and rituals, such as that described in the beginning of this chapter. It is possible that as programming becomes more individuated, it will drift further from the regionally specific context of immediate broadcast. This feature is apparent on Pay TV currently where channels operate as "true" networks where there is no regional inflection

expressed and all programming is simultaneous. Regionally specific programs currently found only on free-to-air television, such as Adelaide's *Christmas Pageant*, might diminish, leaving contextuating programming to do more of the locational work. Contextuating programming will intensify its talk to us about where we are situated, locating us in local times and spaces, and attempting to anchor us into rhythms and rituals local to the context in which we are television users, by addressing us as already locally situated. It will continue to work to inform us of what is happening, where and when in the locality in which we are situated but what that will look like and how we will receive it is yet to be determined.

CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION

This has been a study of television, but television is changing. I currently have two newspapers a day delivered to my home and while I love that they're there waiting for me when I get up in the morning, I don't think I've read one in its entirety. A weekend edition takes me more than a week to read. I did read in one article that a teen magazine is providing pod stories and blogs as part of its editions. I'm listening to the radio as I'm driving to work and the announcer tells me which of this morning's interviews is available as "today's podcast" and I'm not sure how to get it. I'm frightened by ads for MP3 players and iPods and I feel awkward that I don't have either. I don't even have a CD Walkman. I'm starting to feel anxious. Our video camera has died and I can see we could replace it with one that records straight to DVD. I can barely use the DVD player. I don't understand half of what my mobile phone can do. Nokia doesn't even call them mobile phones any more, preferring to call them "computers used for talking". I don't have broadband. Now I'm sweating. I just want to watch television. The old-fashioned way—when it belonged to me.

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In this thesis I have established the case that what I call contextuating programming is crucial for understanding what television is, what it is to watch television, how television addresses its viewers, and what locational viewing subject positions are offered by it. My examination of contextuating programming on Australian commercial television has revealed that it is a televisual practice that positions particular viewers and television programs as local to specific locations and addresses and positions viewers as being local and therefore "at home" watching television programs on their local television stations.

This was a study about television, television viewers and what it is to watch television. I have not performed any traditional audience analysis in this study and my approach is unconventional. It sits somewhere in between the auto-biographic, the auto-ethnographic and the semio-textual, and my analysis is a textual analysis of the programming I have described. But I have also integrated my description and discussion of contextuating programming within a tradition that attempts to account for the

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contradictions, the tensions and the messiness of the technology, the medium, and the practice of television in everyday life (Frow & Morris, 1993; Silverstone, 1994). My work contributes to the fields of television studies and cultural studies and my aim is to contribute to how we understand and are understood within a global television sphere, and how, through contextuating programming, we are made and un-made as locals, viewers, citizens and nationals.

My study was an examination of television, but it was not an examination of television programs. In this study I analysed the other televisual material–the non-program material–we watch when we watch television. This non-program material talks to us as being someone, addresses us as being someone somewhere, and attempts to entice us as if we are able to be enticed. It welcomes us, befriends us, recognises us, informs us, tempts us and rewards us. The interpellations, the subject positions, and the callings it makes (Siapera, 2004) are offers to join communities and confirmations of memberships and evidence that when watching, viewers are addressed as being local within the broadcast context. Being local in this sense is not always to be a static local staked to a particular place, but rather to be afforded an offer of having the status of being a local conferred, and to be called, pulled and tied to local identities.

This was also a study about me watching television, and experiencing contradictions and tensions as I am addressed as having various local identities. I present no firm answers for what happens in these exchanges. However, my experience is that sometimes the address of contextuating programming resonates successfully and the identity I'm offered is one I choose to accept. Sometimes the offerings are rejected outright by me, but I watch and enjoy the offer anyway. Most of the time I play with the offerings and the callings they make to me, imagining I might be, confirming that I was, and recognising that I am or am not. My experiences in Paris and San Francisco, however, demonstrated that while viewers can play with local identity positions, the address of contextuating programming can be unsettling. Identity positions are anchored to specific locations within national television systems and practices and situated relationally within a

global and international television environment, such that, when viewing in out-of-context locations, contextuating programming confirms the fact.

In Chapter 1, I explained that the aim of this study was to investigate the non-program material of television, what I have called contextuating programming. My enquiry was initiated by my televisual experiences in Paris and San Francisco which suggested that in a television sphere where programs circulate internationally, it is the non-program material that speaks of broadcast and cultural contexts, and where identities related to location are revealed. The difference in the ways in which television in two different countries, Australia and France, represented the death of Diana, Princess of Wales, and the unsettling experience of watching American television in America raised a number of questions for me. How exactly did Australian television operate? Did it operate as a uniformly national system? Were there features of Australian television that also addressed viewers as familiar with the practices of television, as being local to the system, and therefore also as "at home"? And did this only happen in events on the scale of Diana's death? In particular I set out to investigate the following questions:

- What are the current features of the Australian television system and what is its history?
- What features of Australian television address viewers as locals, and therefore also as at home?
- How do these features operate in relation to the concept of the Australian nation, and how are they implicated in the construction and representation of an Australian television nation?
- When do these features occur? Are they only to be found during global television events or are they present elsewhere in television? Do they change the nature of what a "program" is and, if so, how?
- What do the features of television that address viewers as locals look like and how do they function?
- What does "local" mean when called at from television? To what do "local" and "home" refer in television's address to viewers?

In Chapter 2, I outlined what I see are the distinguishing features of the Australian television system, because it is this system that provides the context to which contextuating programming refers. The features I described are those unique to the Australian television system in their specific combinations and inflections. All television systems bear unique combinations of elements such that "television" is always differently configured within each national system. Consequently, the broadcast context, and its contextuating programming, is also differently configured across national systems. My description of the relationships between network and affiliate, the genres of programming, the ways in which the television broadcasting context are regulated, the different formats of free-to-air, pay TV and government-sponsored television, and the technological developments and environment combine to create what we know as television within Australia.

Today's television speaks of yesterday, and in Chapter 2 I also summarised Cunningham's (1997, 2000) history of the Australian television system. I made some criticisms of Cunningham's approach, the most important being that Cunningham's history appears to present itself as the history of all Australian television by focussing heavily on the history of television in the eastern states, and occasionally the BAPH cities (Brisbane, Adelaide, Perth, Hobart), thereby de-emphasising the television histories specific to other broadcast regions in Australia. I have argued that what television was/is to viewers is determined to a major extent by where one is located when one is watching, and that contextuating programming plays an important role in highlighting, perpetuating and reinforcing viewers as locationally situated.

In Chapter 3, I described the features and functions of contextuating programming. Some non-program material is referred to by the television industry as continuity or presentation because it keeps the television flow continuous. As I have shown, my research encompasses more than the elements of non-program material known as continuity. My typology of contextuating programming further extends what is thought of as "continuity" and includes program credit sequences, voice-overs, watermarks and branded material.

In Chapter 3, I also identified the distinctions between the various systems of television operating in Australia, namely the differences between free-to-air television and pay TV, and the differences between government funded and commercial free-to-air television. I also demonstrated that the differences in the systems are reflected in the contextuating programming of the systems, both in its features, and the uses made of it. These differences are important because viewers traverse these different systems and as they do, while always being addressed as local and at home when they get there, they are constantly shifting identities and communities to do so.

In Chapter 4, I analysed the differences in the coverage of the Olympic Games across the three time zones of Australia, as an example of media events that create and celebrate a collective nation of viewers watching simultaneous broadcasting. My analysis revealed that during the Olympics broadcasts, viewers in some regions of Australia were watching program material that almost always featured indicators of the station-space of those regions. The constant presence of the local broadcaster's watermark and the regular presence of the national network's watermark, banners and transitions, was in contrast to most metropolitan broadcasts which were less demonstrable in their identifications and located viewers within a more nationally networked space. My analysis confirmed that contextuating programming speaks directly of the networking structure of the Australian television system, while it also addresses viewers as being local and at home. My analysis of the broadcast in Alice Springs specifically illustrated the complex broadcasting that can occur in regional Australia, and the range of identities offered viewers in regional broadcast markets. I showed how viewers in Alice Springs were addressed as belonging to a community that reaches from the Northern Territory to Queensland, to areas of South Australia, Victoria and New South Wales, confirming that the borders of television Australia are very different from state and territory borders.

I also demonstrated how contextuating programming, including strategies written over and inserted into the program, constructs the locations of "home" and "away from home". In 2000, the Games were held in Sydney, at "home" for Australians, and were conducted within southern hemisphere time, whereas the Athens 2004 Games were held

"away from home" and known as the overnight Games for viewers in Australia as the action took place in northern hemisphere time. My analysis showed how contextuating programming supported those constructions of time and place, including in the language of the studio hosts (a form of contextuating programming) which reinforced a place (here) of watching and a place (there) of event action, and, in 2004, made reference to the differences in time and season between the two places. My analysis showed how contextuating programming in the Sydney 2000 broadcasts was full of advertisements that specifically rewarded viewers for being at home where the action was. Themes of home, family and nation were repeated throughout the coverage in the language and images of program and non-program material and reinforced Australians as "home", Australia as "here" and viewers as locals.

In Chapter 5, I continued from where Cunningham's four phase history ended, and made some predictions about a fifth phase of Australian television. I predicted that contextuating programming will continue to address viewers as locals as it functions as a localising and "indigenising" (Cunningham & Jacka, 1996b, p.13) strategy. Contextuating programming, in addition to reflecting the specificity of the system in which it operates has a role in shaping the rituals of the nation. In conjunction with scheduling practices, contextuating programming reflects national and local interests and tastes, and in its localising address to us, it shows us ourselves. It is unclear, however, what contextuating programming will look like in the future mediascape, as the audience becomes more individuated and convergent technologies encourage new uses and functions of television and increased personalisation of viewing practices.

Throughout my study I have been aware that writing about television is a risky business in that there is a high risk that the material written and written about will become out of date quickly. Often when discussing particular programs or specific instances, the object of analysis has changed or disappeared before the analysis is completed and with that comes the possibility that the relevance of the analysis lessens. However, there is still merit in working with the past, and there is still much to see in the instances of television watching and slowing them down and examining them as best one can. Some televisual

features and specificities can only be seen when undertaking a detailed study of specific instances of television programming that have already occurred. It is only by analysing television, with its attached risks, that we are able to counter some of the accusations made about it. One of the fears of television, for example, is that it will make us something else, or specifically in Australia, make us American given the global spread of television product made in the USA. In my close examination of contextuating programming during television from our recent past, I have demonstrated how contextuating programming works to anchor viewers to spaces and geographic locations, and addresses viewers as if they are local to those places. I have shown how contextuating programming speaks of businesses and events local to spatially located communities, and that, as an indigenising force it counters, to some extent, the "foreignness" of programs.

Throughout my study I have demonstrated the ways in which contextuating programming works to contextualise both the viewer and the viewed. In terms of contextualising that which is viewed, I have argued that contextuating programming acts to package television programs. Programs are packaged, and repackaged by contextuating programming that surrounds the program with texts of context (for example, station IDs, advertisements, logos, community service announcements). The ways in which programs are repackaged for the local audience is important in relation to the meanings and uses of television. I have argued that this repackaging of program material for a specific context, including a specific audience, is an example of the localising function of this non-program programming. Further, I have argued that contextuating programming also contextualises viewers by addressing them as local, and often as at home. In presenting advertisements for local products and services, for example, contextuating programming presents a local context for the viewer. In showing viewers other viewers, and the broadcast locations in which they are situated through logos and IDs that construct and reflect station- and network-spaces, contextuating programming also presents a context of other viewers, and of the broadcast context of the station. In addressing viewers as local, and in presenting the broader broadcast context, contextuating programming performs a relational function, as it links viewers to other viewers and places. In these connections, contextuating programming "makes local" viewers and viewing communities.

My study of contextuating programming foregrounds the muliplicities possible for the audience and works to account for television in everyday life. I have shown how contextuating programming both surrounds and writes over foreign and local programs, functioning as a form of cohesion, in addition to being a localising, indigenising force. It works to make broadcasting continuous (the "continuity" in "continuity programming"), and it relationally situates viewers and sites as it promotes television watching. It addresses viewers as members of communities, and articulates relationships between those communities, and therefore it works towards social cohesion. It localises programming to the rhythms of local viewing practices of station- and network-spaces, regional and metro markets, free-to-air and pay TV systems and television in different countries. Finally, I have established that contextuating programming is contextualising programming because it makes obvious the promises, discourses, attitudes, and structures of the context within which television programming is brought to the viewer.

Futures for Contextuating Programming

Contextuating Programming on Australian Television

My research has focussed on the forms of contextuating programming found on commercial free-to-air television in Australia. My examples of fillers on Ten Capital in Wollongong and of the Olympic Games broadcasts throughout the Seven Network illustrate the claims I am making about this programming. However, the limitations of the thesis suggest further research into contextuating programming in other instances of television.

For example, I anticipated that my analysis would reveal something of the patterns of contextuating programming during the day-parts of programming. I expected there to be some tension between the celebration of the media event that was the Olympics and conventional broadcasting days. Further analysis across other day-parts of Olympic programming would reveal broader patterns. Close analysis of the day-parts of everyday programming, rather than global media event programming, would suggest ways in which the social activities of everyday life are enacted by television scheduling and contextuating programming.

I have briefly outlined how free-to-air television and pay TV use contextuating programming differently from each other because of their different structures and relationships to the audience, and therefore a detailed study of contextuating programming on pay TV could reveal more about these differences. Similarly, detailed analysis of contextuating programming on the government sponsored channels ABC and SBS would also reveal more about how it works within these contexts and how that context relates to the free-to-air system. While in Chapter 4 I examined the use of contextuating programming during Channel 7's broadcast of the Olympics, further research could examine contextuating programming on specific channels and during specific events. A study of contextuating programming on Channel Ten, for example with its focus on the youth market, might show how a "youth" community is suggested within that environment and therefore contribute to cultural studies of Australian youth. A study of contextuating programming on SBS during a global sporting media event such as the World Cup (soccer/football) might provide an interesting comparison to my study of the Olympic Games coverage, particularly in its expression of nation and gender. Research into contextuating programming within a national broadcast system other than the Australian system would demonstrate how and what it reveals about the local context in which it operates.

Contextuating Programming and Non-television Broadcasting

Contextuating programming also exists in other forms of televisual broadcasting. In-flight entertainment, fitness centre broadcasting and shopping mall broadcasting are just some examples of televisual broadcasting that exist outside of what we think of as "television" in Australia. These examples of broadcasting also employ some form of contextuating programming. These broadcast environments screen programs specifically made for their broadcast context (specialised news services screened in-flight for example), and/or these systems often broadcast programs also found on familiar television broadcasters. For example, the Australian airline Qantas regularly fills its domestic in-flight screen entertainment programming with episodes of sitcoms and lifestyle programs, which are also to be found on free-to-air television. Qantas also screens a version of the Nine Network's news bulletins that is tailored specifically to Qantas, and while it features Nine

newsreaders, it addresses viewers as being Qantas passengers in flight. Whatever the combination of programs, the broadcaster (airline, mall, gym) will also broadcast blocks of non-program material that function in similar ways to the ways in which contextuating programming functions on Australian free-to-air television broadcasting. On Qantas, for example, contextuating programming consists of advertisements, cards promoting what is coming up next, promos for Qantas and its destinations. Gym programming is less specific in its location identifiers in its contextuating programming, but the appearance of watermarks on screen indicates the program material (usually video clips) is packaged for consumption in gyms and functions to connect and construct a community of gym participants.

Contextuating programming works even when terrestrial television is screened outside the home. By this I mean those situations where the television set, and its usual programming, is viewed in public places: shop displays for example, or in cafes. In these instances contextuating programming is unable to anticipate the sites to which it is broadcast, however, the relationship between contextuating programming and network, station, and program remain and viewers are still positioned as being located in the same broadcast regions as other viewers. Further research into contextuating programming in other televisual locations would broaden our understanding of the locational positionings and identities offered when watching television.

Further, television is also a medium used by government and commercial organisations for the delivery of learning programs to geographically dispersed learner populations. Centrelink, for example, is the Australian Government agency responsible for delivering Social Security payments to welfare beneficiaries. With over 25,000 staff nationwide, Centrelink uses a national satellite television service to deliver some of its learning programs. The broadcasts function to provide a consistent learning program to staff and attempt to cohere a spatially and temporally disjointed community of workers. Research into such examples of the role of contextuating programming, or something like it, in examples of television in learning delivery would reveal much about organisational communication and the identities offered people while "at work".

While what I have described as contextuating programming functions to keep broadcasting continuous on television, contextuating programming might be a useful concept to explore further when researching processes of localisation that occur in other cultural practices and daily rituals. Newspapers surround their stories (generally repeatable across papers in terms of their content) with advertising and peripheral material that addresses readers as local and regular readers. Supermarkets surround their products with indicators of the store's location and its relationships. It might be the case, for example, that contextuating programming, or a marketing practice that resembles contextuating programming on television can account for what happens when I shop at Coles in Figtree, NSW, and Coles in Freo, WA, for example, and find the experiences differently familiar. The differences and similarities across stores are indicative of differences and similarities in their local consumer base. The particular selection of products available in supermarkets is an indicator of geographic location, local demographic, and loyal and regular customers. Not all stores will have an Asian food section, for example, and those that do won't necessarily stock the same items. Supermarkets, like television stations, spend a large amount of money trying to anticipate what we will buy next and what else we might like, based on who they think we are by what we have bought before and where we have bought it. Moreover, the selections made when shopping are information about us and my shopping docket informs supermarket buyers about what I buy and when I buy it. The selections we make and the spaces we navigate are traces that will increasingly be tracked and analysed, enabling providers and advertisers to further individuate their targeting. A study of contextuating practices in non-televisual environments might better reveal how communications, information and commodity systems work and the meanings they have for people.

Contextuating Programming and New Media

It appears that the television will become the game station, the cinema, and the radio. Lounge room furniture anticipates the home theatre with individual seats with snack and drink compartments replacing the shared space of the sofa. It seems as though the mobile phone will become the smart card that pays for goods and services while it also performs the functions of the television, the digital camera, the music player, the video

recorder and the computer, enabling email, information and text and image messaging while we move. The computer will become the telephone, the personal video player, the newspaper and the radio. Where will contextuating programming be in all of this? Who will we be seen to be in the new media forms? Who will we become as we participate in targeted media? I have demonstrated how important it is for broadcasters to communicate with viewers and consumers, so I believe they will continue to do so, but what that will look like and how we will interact with it is yet to be seen.

As communications and entertainment technologies evolve, and the ways in which audiences activate and participate in media texts changes, theories will need to account for the ways in which these global cultural flows (Appadurai, 1990) operate and circulate. With the rapid changes occurring in the mediascape, further lines of enquiry will need to be developed to analyse the evolving forms with regards to the presence (or not) of contextuating programming and how it might function in the new environments. It is my belief that we will continue to be addressed as locally situated viewers by contextuating programming, or something like it, no matter what forms the new media take. The surrounding material of whatever we consume will always address us as being some kind of local, located in some kind of "here" and part of some version of local communities. It is crucial to advertisers and producers that they are able to construct and identify local audiences and markets and the identification of these communities and the construction of relationships between them is part of the work of contextuating programming. Moreover, as media forms converge, the term "viewer" becomes an inadequate description. Perhaps in the not-so-distant-future-world, the more generic term "user", with all that that implies, will be a more applicable and accurate description and the modes of address will swing towards addressing a "travelling local" as the population continues to move and we take our technology with us, effectively making everywhere "here".

My analysis of contextuating programming and my assertions that it offers memberships to viewers, raises questions that are not answered by my research. What do viewers do with the offerings of contextuating programming? Does the localising function of contextuating programming make the local exotic? Is everywhere local? Who are we

when we watch? I have hinted that there is a sense in which the viewer is an empowered self, able to change stations, and accept and reject the communities and identities offered by contextuating programming, but my experiences in Paris and San Francisco highlighted how unsettling identity negotiation can be. Further research is needed into what viewers do with the positions offered by the various addresses of contextuating programming.

Contextuating Programming and Global Spheres

We are more mobile than we think. We're all moving. We're moving from country to country, country to town, city to beach, communication system to entertainment system. Viewers move through television spaces, across stations and networks, across programs, from free-to-air to pay TV, and through national television systems as they travel to other countries. Lash and Urry (1994) write that "mobility transforms people's identities" (p. 9) but mobility also reinforces some, particularly those related to national identities. Passports and customs areas, difficulties with language, new foods and different architecture foreground the experience of the "travelling local" who has arrived from another nation in a new nation-space. Appadurai (1990) writes that we live in a "shifting world" which features mobile groups of "tourists, immigrants, refugees, exiles, [and] guestworkers" (p. 297). Further, Appadurai (1990) suggests that in some instances mobility has reinforced people's attachments to nations that don't exist, and that fundamentalism is often borne of the displacement that comes from not belonging to any place. It appears that the concept of "being local" and belonging, is important to notions of identity and contextuating programming, and similar strategies, play a central role in these constructions.

I have demonstrated that television involves viewers in complex contestations of space, place, identity and nationality. I have also demonstrated that even in a global television sphere, television is engaged in nation-building and citizens are "televisioned" within national television systems. Further, I have demonstrated that the Australian television system is also a parochial system, with broadcast regions vigorously identified and viewers locally situated within them. However, I have also argued that the notion of the nation as a coherent space is undermined by the geographic vastness of Australia and its time zones, and the disjuncture between the Australian television broadcast regions and

Australian states and territories. Further, the notion of globalisation is also undermined by the regionalistic and nationalistic work of contextuating programming.

Finally, my analysis of contextuating programming on Australian free-to-air television has demonstrated how complex and intricately woven are local and national identities are when they come into place within and through television. Contextuating programming is one of the ways in which how to be a local in Australia is articulated by producing local spaces within both national and global television spheres. That is, a "local' viewer in contextuating programming is produced not in opposition to national, international and global configurations, but within such configurations. Contextuating programming disturbs any easy categorisation of local, national and global, and yet its effects are particular and heartfelt. Within contextuating programming we are always something more than an audience, or even a viewer—we become contextuated subjects, existing within, and constituting, a regionally articulated national television culture located within a global media sphere.

APPENDIX A: CONTEXTUATING PROGRAMMING BETWEEN AND DURING PROGRAMS

The tables in the Appendices contain log notes for examples of broadcasting referred to in my thesis. The key to abbreviations used in Tables A1, A2 and B1 is listed below. Where program material also contains contextuating programming I have noted that in the "genre" column.

Key to abbreviations used in Tables A1, A2 and B1

+ 1300	presence of 1300 phone number in ad indicating local version of multi/national business
+ 1800	presence of 1800 phone number in ad, usually indicating national business
BB	branded banner
CC	enhancement indicator; closed captions available in broadcast
cp	contextuating programming
cpa	contextuating programming: advertisement
cpID	contextuating programming: station ID
cpp	contextuating programming: promo
fl	female local voice
G	enhancement indicator; program content suitability for general audiences
in/out	text or images fade in, then out
lh	left hand of screen
ml	male local voice
rh	right hand of screen
W	watermark

Table A1. Transitional Contextuating Programming between *News at 4:30* and *M*A*S*H*

TIME	EVENT/PRODUCT	DESCRIPTION NOTES	GENRE
4:57:22p.m.	*News at 4:30:* final studio segment	Prime W, Ml seen: "Just some of the stories coming up in State editions of *7 News* @ 6. But that's the 4:30 News for today. I'm David Johnston, see you at the same time tomorrow".	Program + cp
	Closing image/credits	Prime W, image of penguins inspecting troops from earlier story. BB bottom 1/6th of screen: 7 NEWS ©2005, with NBC, BSKYB, CNN, APTN & REUTERS, seven.com.au/news	Credits + cp
4:57:46 p.m.	*Prime News*	Same theme as *News at 4:30*. Card: PRIME NEWS. Fl announcer: "Making Prime news (reference to Canberra). BB PRIME NEWS Kate Mitchell, CC, "More news during Home and Away"	cpp
4:58:15 p.m.	Good Guys	Ml: 5 days supersale, featured item: Daewoo DVD player. Card: www.thegoodguys.com.au Image of cash register, "The Good Guys Discount Warehouse". Local addresses: Fyshwick, Tuggeranong	cpa: home AV
4:58:30 p.m.	Domino's pizza	Ml, Card: logo, 131888, + .au website	cpa: food
4:58:45 p.m.	Flight Centre	Mls. Card: 131600 + website	cpa: travel
4:59:15 p.m.	PRIME: LOST	"Bringing it home to ME" jingle, image of actors from *LOST*, travelling stripe, *LOST* text, images of actors, travelling stripe over top of images, ME logo, travelling stripe becomes "I" in PRIME, stripe in lh bottom before it disappears. "Bringing it home to ME".	cpp/ID
4:59:27 p.m.	*M*A*S*H*	Prime W, *M*A*S*H* theme, actors listed ver images. Rating "G" and 7PRIME BB in/out, list of actors continues. Story does not begin.	Program, credits + cp

Table A2. Transitional Contextuating Programming During M*A*S*H

TIME	EVENT/PRODUCT	DESCRIPTION NOTES	GENRE
4:59:27 p.m.	M*A*S*H	Prime W, M*A*S*H theme, actors listed ver images. Rating "G" and 7PRIME BB in/out, list of actors continues. Story does not begin.	Program, credits + cp
5:00:15 p.m.	Home & Away	"G", "CC" top lh, HD: PRESENTED IN HIGH DEFINITION WHERE AVAILABLE turns to CD icon: "ELVIS", Blanche du Bois, bottom lh, 7PRIME turns to PRIME bottom rh, all over images of program trailer. Ml, fl. BB:Australia's favourite, 7:00 TNIGHT bottom lh, PRIME bottom rh, add text: "Home and Away".	cpp
5:00:34 p.m.	Telstra Big Pond	Fl, broadband access. "Big Pond's sixiest ever deal".Card: Telstra Country Wide logo top rh, Big Pond broadband. 1800 + website	cpa: IT
5:01:06 p.m.	Nicorette	ml	cpa:health
5:01:20 p.m.	Allen's Fyshwick	ml, locates store verbally/visually	cpa:home
5:01:35 p.m.	Domino's pizza	repeat	cpa:food
5:01:49 p.m.	Godfrey's	Card: All stores on sale. Ml seen also.	cpa:home
5:02:20 p.m.	Apollo Window Blinds	+1300 number	cpa:home
5:02:34 p.m.	Kitome	Ml: + website + 1800	cpa:home
5:03:05 p.m.	M*A*S*H	Characters watching Hollywood b/w movie. PRIME W, text of producers, writer, director. BB: M*A*S*H, "G" lh, 7PRIME rh	Program + cp

APPENDIX B: EXAMPLE OF CONTEXTUATING PROGRAMMING, OLYMPIC GAMES 2004

Table B1. Log of Olympic Games Broadcast, Alice Springs, NT, August 21, 2005

TIME	EVENT/PRODUCT NAME	DESCRIPTION NOTES	GENRE
1:30 p.m.	Weightlifting transition:	Women's weightlifting	Event intro
	Event	GWN W	+ cp
	Compere in studio	Johanna Griggs, compere, updates Australian athletes' progress. GWN W.	+ cp
	Aerial Olympic Stadium	GWN W	Breaker + cp
	Deal or No Deal Psychic	(not the same as Syd)	cpp
	Polocrosse championships	Mlv: The Black Toyota Qld polocrosse club championships.at Chinchilla polocrosse club, Supported by Southern Cross 10	cp: event
	HOME Hardware	dogalogue, (see Canberra and Adelaide)	cpa: hardware
	Ngaanyatjarra health service	Recruitment ad. "Are you up for a challenge? Ngaanytjarra health service provides primary health care to remote aboriginal communities in West Australia (card says 11 communities in Western Australia) We're currently seeking remote area nurses who are passionate abut working with an ancient culture in transition. The work will challenge you personally and professionally we offer ongoing practical training and support, free accommodation. In furnished air-conditioned houses, (card:"high speed satellite internet connections") modern and well equipped clinics, if you're up to the challenge call..."Images of desert, square inside shows nurses learning in rooms etc.	cpa: employment
	Pantene	(see Syd)	cpa: beauty
	Forty Winks,but ad takes place within a square of Murray Neck Home world	ml: "Wake up. Time for Australia's no 1 bedding sale. Australia's number 1 bedding sale, massive savings and great sleeping". Card:... local address + ph no + web address	cpa: home
	Ag show Bull sale, Toowoomba	Card: 19th annual Ag show Bull sale, September 1st and 2nd, Toowoomba Showground, For more information contact Landmark Toowomba and Elders Toowoomba or branches	cpa:agriculture
	Fade to black. Fade up images of Athens	Games of the XXXIII Olympiad text in/out.Aerial night shot, fade to day beach scene umbrellas aerial.	breaker + cp
	Compere in studio	"Welcome Back" GWN W	+ cp

Table B1 continued

	Cut to "athletics" card		Transition
	Text overlay	+7 W appears	Event intro + cp
	Event	400m Men R1 H2, H5,H7,H8	+cp
	Compere in studio	GWN W. Reviews previous event.	Studio + cp
	Montage Tamsyn Lewis, Sydney Olympics.	W. Branding "Next Women's 800m heats"	breaker+ cp
	Tonight on *Seven News* (see Syd)	Anna Meares, men's relay, Bob Carr Relationship to Metro Sydney 7 as ad for 7 news readers and Sydney in background.	cpp
	Nick Scali furniture	(see Syd)Card: (all NSW places)	cpa: home
	Bayticol dip and spray	Ml: "When ticks are the problem.." Images of ticks and cattle and spray can	cpa: agriculture
	Red Rooster roasted chicken	Fl: woman jogging, no location	cpa: food
	Supercheap Auto(see Syd)		cpa: auto
	Animated ml seal. Reflect super tough coating system.	Card: locally owned and operated +1300 local, but no sense of place)	cpa: agriculture
	DVDs	Ml: Murray Neck Music world logo top rh.	cpa: music
	Alice Springs festival	Ml: "The Alice's premier community cultural event...Proudly supported by these valued sponsors: (diificult to see what they are, 2 cards of them, but can see 7 Central and Power Water) Last card: Alice Springs festival...Northern Territory Government, Alice Springs Town Council	cpa: event
	Announcement	Ml:"This program brought to you by Holden's all new Alloytec V6...Card: Holden's all new alloytec v6, Card: Holden Drive on www.holden.com	cp:sponsor
2:00 p.m.	While You Were Sleeping	Card: While You Were Sleeping, Qantas logo bl, 7 W begins during card, continues during images of highlight, image of man+woman in skybeds. Card background of stars, sky, earth.Footage: Anna Meares gold medal cycling. BB, While You Were Sleeping: 12.50 a.m. Anna Meares-Gold. Ml: "While You were sleeping proudly brought to you by our telecast partner Qantas and the new Qantas skybed"	breaker + sponsor +cp
	Compere in studio	"Welcome back to highlights from Day 7 of the Athens Games...."	Studio
	Card: athletics	W	Transition
	Text overlay	BB: athletics, "800m women, round 1 heats" in/out, "Olympic stadium" in/out, "Commentators Bruce McAvaney-David Culbert in/out".	Event intro
	Event	R1 H1, H2, H3 (Tamsyn's race)	+ cp
	Text overlay	Banner: athletics: Darley Thompson, Tamsyn Lewis' Coach	Commentator intro
		Event	

Table B1 continued

	Compere in studio	GWN W."Coming up 10000m Men's".	Studio
	Montage	W.Montage athletics, BB:"Games of the XXVIII Olympiad"	breaker
	Holden Alloytec,	(see Syd)	cpa: auto
	Alice Springs festival	repeat	cpa: event
	Montage	Food closeups, eating Banner at beginning: "Games of the XXXVIII Olympiad".	breaker
	Compere in studio	"Welcome back. Only the 1 Australian has made it through to a day 7 final in kayaking". Leads into 10000 m.	Studio
	Card: athletics		Transition
	Text overlay	W. BB: athletics, "10000m-Men Final" in/out, " Olympic Stadium"in/out, "Commentators Bruce McAvaney- David Culbert" in/out.	Event intro
	Event	Break, about 8 minutes in, 18 laps to go Commentator knows they're going, " lot's more to come here".	
	Blue /orange ribbon logo 7	logo 7 Athens 2004	breaker
	The Great Outdoors:China	same as Sydney	cpp
	Ngaanyatjarra nursing	repeat	cpa: employment
	Colgate Total toothpaste	mv, animated, Olympics "flavour"	cpa:health
	Santa Gertrudis Bulls	mv: "Santa Gertrudis: the big breed with exceptional performance…in the hot dry regions, for local …..Santa bloodlines will ensure increased performance and demand for your product…more kilograms on the carcass…find out the details of a Santa sale near you and invest in the Big Reds. (Qld phone no)	cpa: agriculture
	Centre Jewellers	ml: "on display for you at Centre jewellers Alice Springs". Card: Centre jewellers Yeperenye Shopping Centre	cpa: fashion
	Card: athletics		Transition
	Text overlay	repeat of previous	Event intro
	Event		
2:30 p.m.	Longer ribbon transition, man lighting torch	Fades to gold and blue ribbons familiar from other cuts, and 7 Athens 2004 rings	breaker
	Zapp: the woolgrower's choice: "lousicide"	ml: card:"Why is Zapp the Woolgrowers' choice?"I/V with local Geraldton, re sheep/shearing.	cpa: agriculture
	Red Rooster	Mediterranean chicken pieces.ml: same Syd	cpa: food
	NT Keno competition	Card: "You & a mate could go to the AFL grand final for just $5. lmv: …Plus every NT Keno outlet … an esky with everything you need for a great footy finals party".	cpa: event
	Fair Dinkum sheds	Jingle, blokey + country hokey. ml:"for a great shed and a great price" ,+ 1800 jingle: "gotta be fair dinkum by a country mile" + 1800 + www.	cpa: agriculture

Table B1 continued

	Retravision	Jingle no place, no stores listed	cpa:home AV
	Pantene moisture renewal	same as Syd. Fl:	cpa: beauty
	Cooper tires [*sic*]	Mike Leyland, images of tyres, 4WDs, "when you're out here, the only part of the vehicle that separates you from disaster is your tyres. I'm Mike Leyland, if you ask me which tyres I use, it's Cooper. America's most trusted 4wd tyre..." "Today while other manufacturers are cutting costs, Cooper's still putting more into its tyres and that's why Cooper is Australia's fastest growing name ..." "made to last".Card: Cooper Tires [*sic*]. America's most trusted 4x4 tire. +1800 + www.com.au	cpa: auto
	Kasey Chambers CD	mlv:Kasey Chambers, Wayward Angel. Song "Hollywod"Card:tour+ www Card: CD + www Capitol records logo, lh other logo(essence records?) rh .	cpa: music
	BB: Congratulations	Nathan Deekes wins bronze in 20k walk	Filler
	Compere in studio	Return 10000m	Studio
	Card: athletics		Transition
	Text overlay	repeat of previous	Event intro
	Event	18:31, from 8 laps to end of race.	
	Compere in studio	Sums up race, where Aussies are, medal tally and what's coming up in day 8. "Well that's it from me on the day 500m gave time enough for Queenslander Anna Meares to win gold".	Studio
	Montage	Winnners 7 rings logo tr,Greece shots, land, sunsets, houses, cross, church bell,	Transition to credits and LIVE
	Card	Clothing by Baubridge and Kay	Credits
	Card	Somewhere only we know. Keane. Universal Music. From the CD...	Credits
	Credits text	Red 7 SPORT black main image. Fixed banner: Copyright 2004 International Olympic Committee All rights reserved. Different music indicates new block.	Credits
	The New Practice	short version	cpp
	Station ID	Thorpedo: You're watching 7 (repeat)	cpp/ID
	Announcement	This program...Holden's ...alloytec v6...	cp: sponsor
	Logo	7 Sport, 7, fanfare music	Station ID: Breaker to LIVE
	Announcement	"This broadcast...International Olympic Committee".Ml, written and read text. Image olive branch, Athens 2004, Olympic rings in top middle screen	
	Montage	Athena woman torch, man lighting flame, montage of athletes, non-athletes, Qantas, Australian flag,opening ceremony images	Breaker to LIVE

Table B1 continued

LIVE 3:00 p.m.	Montage: Headline newsupdate format	W. Ml, Jana Pittman summary, images, rowing "...what about a G&T to start up your afternoon", wipe of Athens, 7 Olympic rings, aerial stadium,ml:"It is super Saturday at the Games, ... a day that will see Australia's Jana Pittman back on track...	Opener
	New studio compere	"Good afternoon I'm Matthew White and welcome to day 8 of competition". Event card with times,"all times in Australian Eastern Standard Time". Summarises, "Tonight's top TV card with banner for LG, Enjoy the moment".	Studio
	Card: rowing		Transition
	Text overlay	W. "Rowing" appears "single sculls-women, final A" in/out, "Schinias olympic rowing & canoeing centre"in/out, "Commentators Basil Zempilas Nick Green" in, all out	Event intro
	Event		
	Flame transition	Athena flame, man +torch, 7 Athens 2004	Breaker
	The New JAG	mlv	cpp
	Holden	storm ute Dirty Deeds,repeat	cpa: auto
	www.onlinecourses.com.au	Techno music, boxy graphics, fl computer	cpa: education
	Cooper tires [*sic*]	repeat	cpa: auto
	Pantene moisture renewal	repeat	cpa: beauty
	North Australian Helicopters	Ml: "North Australian helicopter the ultimate way to see the territory, from Kakadu, Katherine right across to the west.See aboriginal art paintings, the thirteen gorges, Katherine Gorge, Nitmiluk national park and the Gregory national park..."Call +1800	cpa: travel
	Centrum minerals	Text: Duncan Armstrong Olympic gold medallist:	cpa: health
	Compere in studio	"Welcome back...Now don't forget Jana Pittman is coming up within about 15 minutes".	Studio
	Card: equestrian		Transition
	Text overlay	7 + Olympic rings rh top EquestrianBB," individual dressage grand prix" in/out , "Olympic equestrian centre" in/out "Commentators Simon Reeve, Lucinda Green" in, all out	Event intro
	Event		
	7 Athens 2004 ribbon		Breaker
	7 News Update card	Fl: Anna Meares story: "Queensland ...meet her proud parents and boyfriend in Rockhampton...Hitrun on gold coast.Brisbane....Gold coast unit fire,Gold coast church ...Wallabies just before their tri-nation showdown	cp: update

Table B1 continued

	ABBA promo	shorter version of Perth double header ad, same as Prime ad but with 7 instead of Prime as ABBA at 30, this September	cpp
	Holden alloytec	repeat	cpa: auto
	Pollo same as Perth	Mediterranean roast chicken dinner deal	cpa: food
	Bull sale Tamworth (assume also in Qld)	ml: "...The northern Santa Gertrudis breeders group sale...will offer 90 classified Santa Gertrudis bulls . All bulls...guaranteed ready for action". Card: ...90 classified bulls Tamworth selling complex. Card: EMA, Fat scanned, vet checked Card: ...	cpa: agriculture
	HOME hardware dogalogue	repeat	cpa: hardware
	Ngaanyatjarra health services	repeat	cpa: employment
	Julia Creek Dunnart Bush Festival	Ml: "Come and join the fun at the Julia Creek Dunnart bush festival...The Dunnart Ute muster, country music talent quest and the Saturday evening concert...and other country acts.Card:...For more info call 07 47467930, sponsors: bhp billiton, Queensland events, 7 Central...	cpa: event
	Announcement	ml: "This program...Holden's all new alloytec V6"	cpa: sponsor
	While You Were Sleeping	Anna Meares repeat	Filler
	Compere in studio		Studio
	Rowing card		Transition
	Text overlay	W. "Rowing" appears, "single skulls men final A"in/out,, "Schinias Olympic Rowing and Canoeing Centre" in/out,"Commentators Basil Zempilas: Nick Green" in, all out	Event intro
	Event		
	Ribbon 7 Athens 2004 rings		Breaker
3:30 p.m.	Holden alloytec	repeat	cpa:auto
	Ngaanyatjarra recruiting nurses	repeat	cpa: employment
	Montage	W. Song: Nana Mouskouri: "We had joy we had fun" winning, smiling, losing, crying athletes and spectators	Breaker /filler
	Compere in studio	"All right. This is it. We all know the saga but now it's time to see if Jana Pittman is really ready to race at the Games".	Studio
	Athletics card		Transition
	Event	7(white already) rings. Stadium, commentators chat.	W
	Text overlay	Well into coverage, just before race starts, 'Athletics' BB in/out,' 400m hurdles-women, round 1 heat 1'in/out, 'Olympic Stadium'in/out, 'Commentators Bruce McAvaney, Raelene Boyle, CathyFreeman in, all out.	Event intro

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	Event	'as we come back 'Live' to Penchonkina in lane number 2' see Jana preparing	
	Montage	W. Text: 'Drama+Jana= Saga Maybe She's In. She's In. We Think. Yep. She'll Run". Footage of saga.	Montage, intro
	Text overlay	Repeat previous	Event intro
	Event	Jana wins heat	
	Compere in studio	"Make sure you stay with us. Rowing is still to come. Day 8 of the Games is underway."	Studio
	Montage	Rowing montage of the Aussie pair. Text: "Still to come; Men's pair final"	Breaker
	www.onlinecourses.com.au	repeat	cpa: education
	Cooper tires [*sic*]	repeat	cpa: auto
	Thriftylink hardware	Flv: dad's day	cpa: hardware
	Clark Tanks	Animation. Rain drops land in tank. Some female, some male.	cpa: agriculture
	HOME hardware dogalogue	repeat	cpa: hardware
	Deal or No Deal special	Slightly different to Sydney.	cpp
	Event	W. No event banner.	W
	Compere in studio	"Let's go trackside with Pat Welsh"	Studio
	Interview trackside	W, banner, "running icon, Jana Pittman, AUS" Pat; "You've had the entire nation watching every step". Jana: "Thanks Australia. You've been absolutely fantastic and You have no idea how happy I am to be here and to be able to share this moment with you."	Interview
	Compere in studio	"After the break, rowing for gold..."	Studio
	Ribbon transition		Breaker
	Hot Property	This September, but Perth: returning Sept 1	cpp
	Holden	Astra airconditioning dog repeat	cpa: auto
	Clark Tanks	repeat	cpa: agriculture
	Red Rooster	repeat	cpa: food
	Smith's crisps	repeat, see Syd. Workmen at Olympic site speaking Greek	cpa: food
	Isa Belle Pool Shop	ml: ads showing staff, + address Mt Isa	cpa: home
	Kasey Chambers CD	repeat	cpa: music
	Seven's High performance moment	Men's marathon,W, Bruce McAvaney commenting, no text. ml adds "is proudly" and omits Drive On. Card: "Seven's High performance moment brought to you by our telecast partner Holden Drive On".	Filler/sponsor + cp
	Compere in studio	"Okay the games of the 28thOlympiad continue on day 8 of competition and right now it's time for us to row for gold".... "a beautiful day on lake Schinias"	Studio + cp
	Rowing ribbon		Transition +cp
	Pre event	Aerial images of lake, compere intro. W. Images intro field, commentators chat..	+cp

Table B1 continued

.	Text overlay	"Rowing" banner appears, "Schinias Olympic rowing & canoeing Centre" in/out,"Commentators Basil Zempilas Nick Green" in, all out.	Event intro +cp
4:00 p.m.	Event	Australia wins, no ID text!Olympic ring wipe to replay slomo of race start, closeup of Australian team, rejoicing.	
	Compere in studio	"...We'll return with the medal ceremony shortly"	
	Montage	Pair rejoicing. BB "Gold medal" +"Congratulations James Tomkins & Drew Ginn"	Breaker
	Home and Away	M+ fl August 30 Australia will find out	cpp
	Bayticol	repeat	cpa: agriculture
	Cooper tires [*sic*]	repeat	cpa: auto
	Retravision	repeat	cpa: home AV
	Red Rooster roast	repeat	cpa: food
	Thriftylink	hardware	cpa: hardware
	Compere in studio	Banner "Games of the XXVIII Olympiad". "Welcome back...	Studio +cp
	Card: Athletics		Transition +cp
	Text overlay	Repeat previous athletics, W	Event intro + cp
	Event	Heat 4 of hurdles. ("It's been a long time since heat 3", obviously delayed, presented as if live and continuous).Continue to Heat 5. List of semifinal runners	+ cp
	7 Athens 2004		Breaker +cp
	Clark Tank	repeat	cpa: agriculture
	www.onlinecourses.edu.au	repeat	cap: education
	Water Safety awareness	Ml seen/heard: "The Territory Government's come up with a great way to help keep your kids safe in the water...Authorised by the Northern Territory Government, Darwin.Card: Authorised by spoken ...	cpa: community
	NT Export Awards	Fl: The international Business Council of the Chamber of Commerce NT, Channel 7, and the NT Government are proud to present the 2004 Northern territory export awards...	cpa: event
	Pantene straightener	repeat, see Sydney	cpa: beauty
	Announcement	"This program brought to you by Holden's all new alloytec V6..."	cp: sponsor
	My Wife and Kids	repeat, see Adelaide	cpp
	Compere in studio	"Welcome back. We're getting ready for that medal ceremony" (7sport.com.au).	Studio
	Card:basketball		Transition
	Event	W, no banner. To halftime	cp
	Torch transition		Breaker
4:30 p.m.	Holden alloytec	repeat	cpa: auto
	Super Cheap Auto	dad's day sale (repeat, see Sydney)	cpa: auto
	Bayticol	repeat	cpa: agriculture
END	Montage	Montage of rowing win, W	Breaker

APPENDIX C: EXAMPLES OF ADVERTISEMENTS, OLYMPIC GAMES, 2000 AND 2004.

Table C1. Smith's Crisps (food), 2004

IMAGE	AUDIO
Mid shot 3 moustached workmen sitting around opening esky, hard hats on, workers and equipment in background	
Close up Smith's Crisps out of esky, Greek Fetta and Herb flavour, starts opening bag	Sound of bag opening
Mid shot, all 3 eating from a packet	Conversations in Greek
Close up first man eating	
Close up second man eating	Conversation and happy munching sounds
Close up third man crunching, nodding in conversation	
Close up second man	
Close up third man	Gun shot and yelling
Mid shot all 3, turn to hear where sound came from	Crowd roars
Men in foreground, see hurdlers and unfinished stadium, with crowd. Hurdlers avoiding equipment, rubble	Male Greek accented voiceover: "Introducing Greek Fetta and herb crisps"
Long shot shows unfinished stadium, cranes and other equipment, race continuing, large video screen in background	
Postcard of Acropolis, "Blame it on the taste" text, 3 packets of chips being raised like Olympic flags with Greek Fetta and Herb in the winning position. Chip packets obscure text at bottom of screen that says "an official sponsor of the 2004 Olympic Games". As chips packets are raised higher, it is revealed "Obviously Smith's is not an official sponsor of the 2004 Olympic Games".	"From Smith's. One of 3 new flavours from the Mediterranean".

Table C2. *Adelaide Seven Nightly News*, 2004

IMAGE	AUDIO
Young girl with horse, "Melody Horrill, Magic Mountain" text	"In my teens I had a job selling fairy floss at Magic Mountain
Merry-go-round, Melody's face superimposed	
Magic Mountain entrance	This might be a minority view
Merry-go-round horses	But I'm sad it's gone
Long shot time lapse/darkness of Magic Mountain	I didn't think it was ugly
Melody on merry –go-round horse	Anyway I have lots of great memories of the Bay".
Fades to her in same position in studio, 7 News and image of Adelaide Festival Centre in background	
"Nobody knows Adelaide like 7 News" text	

Table C3. *Adelaide Seven Nightly News,* 2004

IMAGE	AUDIO
Man looking out to (flat) sea, surfboard under arm "Bruce Abernethy, West Beach" text	"We used to surf the south coast
Man surfing big waves	And on the way back
Old Holden car along cast road	We often stopped off at West Beach
Man being dumped by waves	To catch a little stormy
Bruce with 3 kids walking along West Beach boardwalk	20 years ago I bought a house there, now I'm lucky enough to see my kids enjoy Adelaide's best beach
Man looking out to sea, board under arm	But there's still no surf".
Bruce in newsroom	
"Nobody knows Adelaide like 7 News" text	

Table C4. Olympic Games: *Celebrate Humanity,* 2000a

IMAGE	AUDIO
Woman athlete running	(male, US voice) "To be a giant. This has forever been our passion
Man about to lift	this desire to be a giant.
Man about to lift	Not to stand on one's shoulders,
Happy b/w athlete's face	or to have one for a friend ,though these may be fortunate things, but to be one
Male hurdlers	Giants step over barriers that seem neverending.
Male pole vaulter	They conquer mountains that appear insurmountable.
Skier	Giants rise above fear
Diver about to dive	triumph over pain
Runner collapsing	push themselves
Mohammed Ali	and inspire others
Female vaulter	to do giant things
Long jump	to take giant steps
Olympic rings	to move the world forward".
Celebrate humanity www.olympics.com	

Table C5. Olympic Games: *Celebrate Humanity*, 2000b

IMAGE	AUDIO
Closeup runners' feet	(male US voice) "You are my adversary
Runners' heads. Bottom in the air.	
Runner's top half body,ready to run	
Front shot different runner ready at blocks	But you are not my enemy
Runners take off. Two wrestlers.	For your resistance gives me strength
Discus thrower releases, Runner sprints.	Your will gives me courage
Gymnast head shot slow motion	Your spirit enobles me
Runners slow motion	And though I aim to defeat you, should I succeed
Runner grabs other runner's hand	I will not humiliate you
Girl swimmers hugging	Instead I will honour you
Wrestlers hugging	For without you
Olympic rings	I am a lesser man".
Celebrate humanity www.olympics.com	

Table C6. Olympic Games: *Celebrate Humanity*, 2004

IMAGE	AUDIO
Olympic rings	
Male weightlifter	(male, European accented voice) "If you could have the arms of Hercules,
Female runners	Legs as swift as the wind,
Male basketballers	If you could leap shoulder high above the rain,
Swimmers	Have the kick of a dolphin,
Balance beam gymnastics	The reflexes of a cat,
Closeup, b/w torso runner, fade to black	If you could have this
	You would have the body, you would have the tools, but you will not have greatness
Waterpolo winners	Until you understand
Weightlifter, happy	
Cathy Freeman running	That the strongest
Male athlete happy	muscle
Female athlete happy	
Australian male swimmers	
Male runner happy	
Muhammed Ali (same as other ad)	Is the heart
Andrea Boccelli, image, name (and "ITALY") and signature	To me, that's the soul of the Olympic Games".
Olympic rings	
Celebrate Humanity www.olympic.org	

Table C7. IBM (information technology), 2000

IMAGE	AUDIO
Long shot of man on horse, town crier, yelling through main street. Text bottom left: "Stephen Davies, Parkes, Australia"	(All local+ seen voices) Town crier: "Hear ye!"
Image of shadow of man with hockey stick and ball next to Parkes telescope	Town crier: "Stephen's in the Olympics!"
Man in shop talking	"The two most famous things in Parkes would certainly be the Parkes radio telescope"
Mayor pointing to telescope on the town flag	
Parkes telescope	
Woman walking down street:	"And probably Stephen"
Shots of him playing hockey	"He plays hockey"
Woman working in chemist swinging pretend stick	
Shot of Stephen swinging stick	
Man in room with town flag:	"And he'll be representing Australia at Olympic Games in Sydney"
Stephen shaking hand of barber	
Woman working in chemist:	"I remember when he was this high with the long hair"
Stephen shaking hand and kissing elderly woman in street	
Town crier on horse passes woman from previous shot	"Stephen's in the Olympics"
Stephen in town parade	Chemist woman vo:"He's a local boy"
Stephen in town parade different angle	
Stephen, close up with telescope background	Stephen: "I'm very proud of where I come from"
Superimposed over hockey shots: ten thousand local heroes, one place to find them all, olympics.com powered by IBM IBM Worldwide partner	"I love this home town And I love the people here". Lady's vo: "We're very proud of him"
Elderly ladies having coffee, town crier visible outside	Town crier: "Stephen's in the Olympics, he made the Olympics". Ladies: "We knoooow", waving the crier on

Table C8. Westpac (banking/finance), 2000

IMAGE	AUDIO
Nev Hackett (Grant's dad) dives into the pool and at the end of a lap gasps	"I don"t know how he does it"
Sue Murphy (Andrew's mum) tries to hop, skip and jump, falls and half laughs	"How does he get that far?"
Anne Skinner (Lisa's mum) tries to get on the balance beam and while swinging says	"How on earth does she get up on this thing?"
Barry Weekes (Liz's dad) tries to be a goalkeeper playing waterpolo and shouts	"I can't believe she can do this"
The Parents of the Oarsome Foursome (4 in a boat, looks like 2 mums and 2 dads) laughing as they struggle in a rowboat with foremost mum saying	"I don't know how they do this"
Text: Since 1997, Westpac has provided financial support to the Australian Olympic Team	
That's not how they do it	
but it does help.	
Australia We're with you	
Olympic flag and rings top left corner, Australia's First Bank Olympic Partner top right corner, www.westpac.com.au underneath	

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