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and the dreams
they try so
hard to
fulfill.
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PREFACE

This collection of research findings and interpretation has been produced by members of the International Communications and Youth Cultures Consortium (ICYC) which is an informal group of researchers who have conducted their own national studies, within the framework of a negotiated international project. The professional training and scholarly approaches of the group cover a range of the social services and humanities, including sociology, psychology, political science, economics, philosophy, communication, journalism, broadcasting and musicology. The scholars are employed in universities, research institutes, broadcasting organizations and the music industry. The research team represents a diversity of theoretical, methodological and philosophical approaches to the study of youth and culture. But, although this team was selected for its diversity, all members are eminent scholars within their fields who are committed to understanding the economic and social factors that influence cultures and youth.

They were brought together by their mutual interest in investigating repercussions from the development of international communication systems. In particular, they chose to look at the possibility of an international youth culture based on common global tastes and values. The question was addressed initially by focusing on popular music, its production development and application. This comprised the first stage of the ICYC study, and it is these findings that make up the content of this book.

The study set out to examine both the structure of the global culture industry and the repercussions of that global industry on national cultures at various levels of functioning. The reports concentrate on the production of popular music. Each country's musicians themselves are described. The findings are placed within a context of the historical development and the political, economic and social conditions of each country. A number of previous studies had established the existence of a largely unidirectional flow of popular music around the world from Anglo-American sources. Concern has been expressed about the possibility of a global cultural homogenization in the future.

The connection with young people was their heavy consumption of popular music and the socializing effects of this consumption. It was predicted that music could carry with it identification with lifestyles and values of other societies. The ICYC members decided to look at the local music
environments to measure the effects on local production and consumption of the presence of international music and, at a later date, to look at the relationship and behavioral effects between musical tastes and the cultural mores of the young.

The research was conducted by nationals of each country. In this way the researchers were studying their own cultures. Each brought to the work a national's understanding of the complexities and idiosyncrasies of their particular cultural studies: such an understanding would have been impossible for a visiting academic to acquire. It must be explained that representation was not dictated by any sampling technique, random or otherwise. The parameters of the study were not fixed in the initial stages of the project. Since we were exploring new ground we took an open stance. From the start we could make no claims about the global representativeness of our sample. However, certain guidelines of choice in broad groupings were adhered to. It was insured that there would be representatives of developed and underdeveloped countries; old countries with strong national traditions and relatively new countries with weak or no traditions, large; medium sized and small countries; economically strong and weak ones; democracies and other forms of government; old imperialists and new ones; countries where the majority of young people are allowed an adolescence and countries where adult responsibility comes in childhood. We did not consciously look for countries with important popular music industries; we were as interested in countries with weak domestic industries. We wanted to focus on the generation of and support given to weakly based domestic industries as well as on the strength and impact of exporting countries. We hoped to include representatives of countries with differing musical roots and countries with differing cultural histories. The sample eventually arrived at satisfying these criteria. The chapters present a wide variety of concerns. They succeed in illustrating the complexity and variety of contexts in which popular music is produced. The study itself had no overall financial backing and had to rely on dispersed intermittent outside sources, which were mainly directed toward funding meetings or access to meetings rather than toward research expenses. Individuals had to rely on their own resources. Each piece of work represents a degree of personal sacrifice in time and funds on the part of the contributor. This book was launched on enthusiasm, goodwill and friendship alone and this cannot be extracted from people by dictate.

Being a collection of reports from individual countries, this book is innovative in that the perspective is that of the recipient as opposed to that of the provider. The view is from inside the country. Account is only taken of the outside foci that actually are seen to impinge on the domestic musical environment. This is different from the usual accounts of the interaction of national and transactional forces, which almost invariably take as their subject the transactional aspect, describing how it affects and is accommodated to varying situations. Here external influences are not subjects of study in themselves but are viewed as part of a complex scene along with other variables operating in various national situations. Each researcher worked on an identical agenda generated by the group as a whole. This included providing descriptive information about relevant demographic, social, economic and political conditions historically and currently. The historical development of music was to be traced and the current state of the
music industry in each country was to be researched in order that factual statistical details could be presented. Interviews were to be carried out with both persons working in the music and communication industries and practicing musicians. This was done in order to present a detailed, rounded picture of the musical environment in the researcher's country.

These requirements were adhered to by the majority. However, not all the agenda's components could be covered by everyone. There were variations in access to statistical information and in the comprehensiveness of information available. The resources and conditions of work of the different researchers were also very unequal. As a result, there are differing areas of emphasis, dictated not only by information availability but also by differing national concerns. The editors judge that this diversity has added to the value of the collection a dimension unobtainable by outside researchers. The book provides a platform for each author's personal perspectives and values. Information from one area that a particular author has dealt with at length can enhance the understanding of that concern in another country, where the author has chosen to emphasize another area. If connections are made by the reader, information given in one chapter may be applied to another as long as account is taken of differences in circumstances and time.

The diversity of the reports also reflects the writers' differing educational and research traditions. This is shown in the concerns aired and the methods employed. Additionally the language and style of the chapters are variegated, reflecting the different cultural and linguistic backgrounds of the authors. Editorial policy has been not to impose our value judgments or West European perspectives on our colleagues. Selected parts of the material presented here have been used as source evidence in the earlier ICYC book *Music at the Margins* (Sage, 1991) by Deanna Robinson, Elizabeth Buck, Marlene Cuthbert et al. This was a comparative interpretation of the ICYC members' work. This particular volume is published to present the researchers' materials as a whole on a national basis. It is targeted neither to duplicate nor to contradict the comparative book, rather to complement and to broaden the subject's knowledge base. It is hoped that the evidence presented here will provide some answers to policy and rhetorical questions which increasingly are being raised by people with an interest in their national cultures.
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INTRODUCTION

The spread of Anglo-American music around the world is often seen as threatening the extinction of indigenous musics. Over the past two decades, a rich bibliography has been produced on this theme, including a significant number of transcultural studies (see Bibliography at the end of this chapter). The argument put forward by many scholars implies a model of cultural domination or cultural "imperialism" imposed from core to peripheral countries via the international music industry, through the medium of popular music of, basically, Anglo-American nature. Thus, Frith (1989, 2) argues that "no country in the world is unaffected by the way in which the twentieth century mass media (the electronic means of musical production, reproduction and transmission) have created a universal pop aesthetic." Similarly, Hamelink (1983) regrets the "one-way traffic" which characterizes the patterns of cultural interaction in the second half of the twentieth century, based on the "synchronization" of a multiplicity of indigenous cultures with one particular cultural pattern of global dimensions. Furthermore, he thinks that the infiltration of the indigenous cultures by the dominant one has been subtle and consequently even more dangerous and destructive, leading to an immediate threat to global cultural diversity.

However, as Robinson et al. (1991) point out, "one of the major issues of the so-called information age is whether technological developments are leading to cultural enrichment and pluralism versus cultural homogenization and domination" (p. 18). Wallis and Malm (1984), in their report on the music industry in small countries, model the interaction between cultures on the basis of three patterns of change: cultural exchange, cultural dominance and cultural imperialism. But, they note that these three patterns have been joined by a forth pattern from around 1970: transculturation. This pattern of change "is the result of the worldwide establishment of the transnational corporations in the field of culture, the corresponding spread of technology and the development of worldwide marketing networks for what can be termed transnationalized culture or transculture" (p. 300). They conclude that although in its early days transculturation has had positive effects in the production of music in small countries, they could not foresee a projection of this trend into the future.

Many other factors are at play in determining cultural change and transcultural influence which cannot be easily predicted. Manuel (1988), for example, poses the question whether changing local tastes (of popular music) are due to socioeconomic developments within the culture itself or they
derive from Western influence. Fejes (1981) also notes that the media imperialism approach tends to obscure the complex relationships and dynamics that exist among the external and internal factors and forces that shape the cultural production of peripheral countries.

This collection of papers aims to amplify exactly these "complex relationships and dynamics" which shape the interaction between indigenous musics and "internationalized" Anglo-American popular music. The approach shared by all the authors in this book centers on providing a historical review of the development of indigenous music in each country, in order to highlight the endogenous as well as the exogenous influences in the formulation of the mainstream and peripheral musical genres at national and local levels.

The conceptual framework we propose for interpreting popular music production at national and local levels is based on two main issues. The first issue concerns the extent to which international (Anglo-American) music is accessible to national or local populations through the mass media. The second issue refers to the social, economic and political circumstances which have encouraged the introduction of foreign music in a country, providing the context for exogenous influences of varying degrees on local musical production.

The reports included in this book take a look at popular music production in each country "from the inside" rather than attempting to prove a model or provide a global synthesis "from the outside." This approach provides the opportunity to elaborate the concept of interaction between indigenous and foreign music or between spontaneous and imposed music on the basis of the sociopolitical context of such interaction; it also provides the ground to rethink the various forms "cultural exchange" may take.

The main point brought forward by this book is that popular music absorbs exogenous influences and accommodates them stylistically in new forms that reflect the socioeconomic and political environment of the historical period it belongs to. Thus, to understand phenomena of enforcement and domination of foreign musics on indigenous ones, we need to study the societal factors which mediated and allowed such a pattern to develop at the receiving end. As it is clearly shown by the chapters, popular music in each country expresses and reflects the social and political forces which are at play in a particular period of time and determine the dynamics of the development of each country internally, as well as its position and role in the international scene.

Some countries are endowed with a rich tradition of indigenous national music which inspires their contemporary production of popular music; others are lacking a tradition of their own but strive to produce a contemporary musical identity by building on elements of the international pop and rock or regional mainstream musics (e.g., Latin America). Most countries are in between these two models and utilize both traditions and the regional and international contemporary musical influences as sources of inspiration for modern popular music production. Thus, the analysis of contemporary musical production is based in most chapters on a dual problematic: it concerns the interaction between indigenous and "external" (regional, international) music and/or the relationship between local (peripheral) production of popular music and the "core" production of the transnational industries.
Introduction

This dual analytical model points to a simple categorization of the expected results of the interaction between the indigenous/local musics and the "external" (regional or international) popular music. Thus, three basic "situations" can be distinguished:

1. Integration. Foreign music or "core production" music has lent stylistic, instrumental, vocal and other elements to the local/indigenous production of music, which still retains traditional melodic or other elements but has creatively integrated the two types of music into a new type. Integrated music is invariably found in all the 13 countries presented in the book, although its appeal and share of the local market varies substantially between countries.

2. Importation. Foreign music is imported to the country and consumed exactly as it has been produced--that is via imported records or produced--that is reproductions of these records in local plants under license.

3. Cloning. Imitation of foreign music hits by local groups which either perform these hits in their own way or produce their own music, often with lyrics in the local language, to sound exactly like the foreign music they imitate.

All these situations are present in most countries, although at differing degrees, and in many cases they are complemented by the consumption and--sometimes--production of traditional or "purely" local music. The "juxtaposition" of these situations and the relative prominence each of them achieves during specific periods in the history of each country is clearly demonstrated by the reports. The patterns of such juxtaposition have aroused the interest of many scholars, and various theories and models have been produced for their interpretation (see, for example, Hamelink, 1983; Wallis and Malm, 1984; Nettl, 1985). On the evidence of the reports presented in this book, it is shown that any theory or model which tries to interpret the interaction between the peripheral and the "core" production of popular music mainly on the basis of the production and market forces may arrive at misleading results. The interplay between production/market forces and the dynamics of the national context within which these forces operate determine the model of juxtaposition of the elements defined above. However, if we accept this in principle, it is nearly impossible to model the interaction between indigenous/local and "core" musical genres. It is more meaningful to analyze in somewhat greater depth the concept of "global" musical taste, which may be created through the interaction of different musics. Undoubtedly, the phenomenal expansion of mass communication facilities is leading toward a higher degree of interaction or interinfluence between musics, and in particular between the so-far-dominant (in market terms) Anglo-American pop and the indigenous (traditional and modern) musical genres.

This trend toward "globalization" of contemporary popular music is admitted by Robinson, Banks and Breaux in their report of U.S. popular music presented in this book (chapter 12), but is also treated with a large degree of skepticism: "Globalization is offset by an equally strong trend toward indigenization, the realization that one's own local traditions are worth keeping, related to a growing need to establish a self-identity based on the immediate environment." This statement is characteristic of the change in the thinking of scholars in the late 1980s, although it may be
somewhat overoptimistic, given the present composition of the international music market and the structure of the music industry. Inevitably globalization comes to be a much more powerful trend compared with indigenization, since the former is supported by a powerful transnational phonographic industry (or mass media industry more generally) while the latter represents minority interests and minority markets in global terms.

The production of what has been called "globalized" music (e.g., see Wallis and Malm, 1984) implies a two-way process, which allows the incorporation of ethnic and folk elements into the contemporary pop genres produced by the "core" international music industry monopolies, in order to diversify their product, make it more interesting and increase its market potential. A crucial question here concerns the nature of the "core": as the economic power of Japan increases, we may also expect that globalized popular music will exploit the so-far-unexploited sources of the Far East musical traditions, sounds and styles in order to produce a new generation of international pop.

The question of indigenization also has been raised by the studies presented in this book, concerning the role of popular music in defining, to a certain extent, and reinforcing, at times of crisis, the national or local identity of a population. This question has been connected with the relative significance of indigenous versus "external" or "core" musics in the contemporary popular music production in each country. In countries with a strong national tradition of music (like Greece, Spain, Japan, India) we can observe a coexistence of different music tastes, traditional and modern, connected to different age groups, socioeconomic profiles or local culture (e.g., urban-rural). In countries with a regionally defined musical tradition (e.g., the Latin American countries) the building of a national identity on the basis of the regional tradition is a strong factor in the definition of contemporary popular music, although the common denominator of regional tradition is not as strong as that of a national tradition. In younger nations (e.g., Australia, Israel) without a unique or distinct musical tradition, the building of contemporary popular music style is based more solidly on international pop and forms in itself part of the national identity building.

However, in most of these nations, an equilibrium of the traditional and the modern, of the indigenous and the foreign, determines the definition of the contemporary musical scene and forms part of the national identity. This equilibrium is sensitive to social, economic and political changes, as the recent history of most of these nations has shown. In times of economic hardship or political instability, traditional and imported musics may be played against each other in order to introduce or force upon people a new identity which complies with the economic and political circumstances of the country. As discussed earlier in this introduction, musical "integration" has been achieved in the countries presented in this book by incorporating pop/rock elements in the creation of contemporary indigenous music. Thus indigenous musics from many countries, although different acoustically and melodically, have a significant common denominator: they share a pop/rock beat, instrumentation and style. The fusion of cultures has enriched popular music and at the same time has given it an international character.

This character implies an international identity model, which may threaten the national identity (as the chapter on Taiwan shows) or reinforce
it (as the chapter on Uruguay implies). Thus, one should not take it for granted that the traditional forms of music will survive and develop through an awakening of self-identity at a national or regional level. The historical context of the development of popular music in the 13 countries shows that such an awakening has come about when self-identity is threatened. Under ordinary circumstances, especially when stability and relative affluence are established, the market forces tend to operate against all minority tastes, reinforcing majority tastes through the expansion of mass communication media.

We cannot but share the skepticism of many of the contributors of the book as to whether contemporary musical production in peripheral countries or regions, as a symbol and expressive channel of an alternative culture, will continue to survive if the mainstream cultures of all these nations become "globalized," accompanied by a sense of international identity. The question "whose master's voice?" that popular music echoes is eventually a question of identity conflict and identity fusion around the world.

BIBLIOGRAPHY


INTRODUCTION

Since white settlement began in Australia two centuries ago, the development of local culture has almost always occurred in competition with its better established imported counterparts. With much older Aboriginal cultures at best ignored, culture in Australia has evolved within the context of a "new society": with few exceptions, there has been little of the prolonged isolation here that has commonly shaped the evolution of "traditional" cultures. Thus, rather than warranting an exploration of the effects of the internationalization on a well-established indigenous music scene, the Australian scene needs to be examined in terms of the developments and prospects of a pop scene that has evolved in full competition with overseas products. This competition has applied also to other cultural products. Our examination will include a historical overview which will be followed by an outline of the structure of the rock music industry in Australia.

Australia has a population of 16 million people, over one-fifth of whom were born overseas. Although the country occupies a large land mass, most of the population is concentrated near the coast, especially the Southeast coast. Most Australians live in large cities; Sydney and Melbourne alone accommodate around 6 million people. Despite the more recent trend toward higher density living around the city areas, the ideal of a "house and garden" survives for the majority of Australians. The life cycles of Australians are similar to those of other Western nations: the minimum school-leaving age is 15 years, while marriage generally occurs after the age of 20.

Culturally, Sydney and Melbourne dominate the rest of the country to an extent that has sometimes caused resentment in the smaller cities and rural areas. While many immigrants continue to speak their mother tongues, most Australians speak only English, a factor that has ensured the
country's cultural integration with both Britain and North America. From the outset, for many years Aboriginal languages and cultures, like Aborigines themselves, were treated with disdain. It was only in 1966, for instance, that Aborigines were allowed to vote in Australia. Within this environment, Aboriginal musical instruments such as the didgeridoo have been viewed as cultural exotica, and only in isolated instances over the past few years have white Australian musicians shown any interest in attempting to integrate Aboriginal music within Western musical culture.

Australia was initially established mainly as a penal colony, the earliest white immigrants being from England, Ireland and Scotland. Although the British parliamentary system was adopted, the hierarchical class structure of British society did not take root in Australia in the same form, and there is a tendency to regard Australia as an egalitarian society, although this may be a simplistic representation. New settlers in many ways tried to live out their remembered cultural heritage by proxy. Their music includes folk songs from their homelands, songs often modified to suit the new conditions.

BROADCASTING

Radio in Australia officially began in 1923. In 1985 there were 330 stations, currently organized in four sectors. Virtually all of the population is reached by radio, the only exception being the residents of some outback areas.

The largest concentrations of radio stations are in Sydney and Melbourne, with some 45 stations located in these two cities. Some regional centers may have only one or two local stations and outback areas have patchy reception of perhaps one. The broadcasting system in Australia is modeled partly on the British system, exemplified by the network of national government-funded stations, and partly on the American system, exemplified by the style of the commercial stations. The majority of the radio stations are on the AM band. FM radio was introduced during the middle 1970s, and most of the FM licenses have been issued to public stations. In 1985 there were seven FM commercial radio licenses in existence, and these stations have been so successful and profitable that AM stations are now also clamoring for access to FM bands.

The Australian Broadcasting Corporation (ABC) began transmission in 1932. The ABC runs both radio and television stations and has an overseas service, Radio Australia, to parts of Asia. The ABC is supported completely by government funding and may not undertake commercial advertising. The ABC's stated aims include the provision of a diverse nationwide service, Australian in character, with special regard for rural areas not served by other radio stations. It provides a combination of network and local programming. The ABC is often perceived by sections of the community--for example, by the commercial sector--as the organization which should serve audience segments whose tastes are not catered for by other radio stations. The ABC also maintains the local symphony orchestras located in the states and is a concert entrepreneur. In 1985 there were 133 national radio stations.

Commercial radio stations are the most numerous and reach the largest audiences, being concentrated most heavily in metropolitan cities. They are
privately owned and operated and rely on advertising for revenue. Com¬
cmercial stations often sponsor community activities and those oriented to
rock formats sponsor rock concerts. Commercial stations have their licenses
granted by the Australian Broadcasting Tribunal (ABT or the Tribunal)
and these licenses are renewable every three years. A license fee based on
revenue is payable annually.

The industry association of the radio stations, the Federation of Aus­
tralian Radio Broadcasters (FARB) represents the interests of commercial
stations. Part of its policy is "to sustain an environment for discussion and
negotiation with a view to inhibiting unwarranted government intrusion
into the broadcasting process" (FARB 1982, 9). FARB also carries out self-
regulatory activities concerning program and advertising content. In 1985
there were 137 commercial radio stations in Australia.

Public radio stations are operated by community groups, educational
institutions and specialized groups such as music broadcasting societies and
religious and ethnic groups. The purpose of establishing these stations has
been to provide community access and an alternative medium for the ex­
pression of diverse tastes and opinions not represented in the mainstream
national and commercial broadcasting stations.

Public radio stations are nonprofit stations which are barred from ad­
vertising and are frequently underresourced and small in scale. They rely on
varying combinations of income sources such as member organizations,
government grants and listener subscriptions. Some community stations
transmit only within a radius of several kilometers. They are largely staffed
by volunteers and usually have small, if loyal, audiences. In 1985 there were
53 public radio stations in Australia.

The Special Broadcasting Service (SBS) was set up with the purpose of
giving expression to the government policy of multiculturalism, which ac­
knowledges the high proportion of immigrants in the population, and for
the perceived need to give public exposure to the cultures of these peoples.
The SBS provides both television and radio services in over 50 languages.
There is one ethnic radio station each in Melbourne and Sydney, but ethnic
television has extended to all major population centers. The service is
funded fully by the government. It is expected to be amalgamated into ABC
in 1987, but it is intended that its special character will be preserved.

The formats of the commercial radio stations dominate the airwaves.
The bulk of audiences show a preference for commercial stations. A survey
in 1979 (Meyer et al. 1983) showed that 76% of people would turn to com­
mercial radio for "pleasant music" and this finding is borne out by the
regular audience surveys of radio stations. A strong American influence is
reflected in the programming practices of stations, with increasingly tighter
music formats aimed at attracting the largest possible market share, which is
considered to be an economic necessity. The major formats of commercial
stations are described as "talk," "adult contemporary," "contemporary"
(including rock), "good music" or "country" (this is mainly played by rural
stations which also maintain a greater mix of formats). The music played
varies within these limits—that is, varieties of rock, Top 40, light popular
music and beautiful music. Virtually no classical music or jazz is heard on
commercial stations. A greater diversity of music is played by the national
and other noncommercial stations. The national stations play classical mu-
sic and jazz, as well as some "contemporary" music, with one radio station being targeted at youth and playing some less commercially oriented rock. The SBS radio stations play ethnic music, while public stations play the greatest diversity of music. They have set out, as a matter of policy, to provide both talk and music, which is often not otherwise available. They are willing to experiment and give airtime to little-known local and overseas artists, and in some cases have provided a springboard to local artists, who were later accepted by commercial stations and achieved international success. The public stations set out to please "some of the audience some of the time," providing for a great variety of tastes at different times.

PUBLIC POLICY AND GOVERNMENT REGULATION OF RADIO

Public policy, through regulation of the electronic media, has played and continues to play an important part in the encouragement of an Australian cultural identity (which now includes multiculturism) in programming\(^1\). The government has encouraged the fostering and development of national identity, and this has been reflected in legislation and in some of the activities of the relevant regulatory agency, the Australian Broadcasting Tribunal. The ABT is an independent quasi-judicial body. Its major functions are:

1. To grant, renew, suspend and revoke licenses.
2. To grant approvals and authorize transactions in relation to the ownership and control of licenses.
3. To determine and enforce standards and conditions in relation to programs and advertisements.
4. To assemble and disseminate information relating to radio and television in Australia.
5. To inquire into and report on matters relating to radio and television that are referred by the minister.

The ABT's activities extend only to commercial television and radio stations and public radio stations. The ABC and the SBS are self-regulating. The provisions governing the functions of the ABT and the obligations of the relevant stations are contained in the Broadcasting and Television Act 1942 (amended), (the act). The Department of Communications is concerned with overall matters of policy, planning and development of services and technical matters.

In the past, television and radio have been subject to stringent limitations of ownership, but in 1986 the government introduced a policy of greatly expanding these limits. This policy has already set in motion large-scale trading in television and radio stations. Ownership by foreign citizens is still limited for both, and the Tribunal must approve transfers of shareholdings. The previous ownership limitations have still allowed the radio (and television) stations to join together for the purpose of joint advertising selling arrangements and radio stations are generally part of news networks.

The Broadcasting and Television Act requires that the Tribunal determine programming standards for radio and television and that the stations
comply with these standards, which describe what is suitable or unsuitable material for transmission. Early governmental concerns with the development of Australian culture have continued, and thus in order to reinforce government policy of providing an "Australian sound" on the electronic media, both the Broadcasting and Television Act and the ABTs Program Standards contain detailed requirements. The act now prescribes a minimum amount of Australian-originated music on radio: a minimum of 5% of the time that music is played on radio must consist of the compositions of Australians. This requirement has applied since 1956 and increased from the original 2.5% in 1942. It is required also that a license should, as far as possible, use the services of Australians in the production and presentation of programs. For the purpose of the requirement, an Australian is defined as a person who is either born or is ordinarily a resident in Australia.

A further requirement determined by the ABT states that no less than 20% of daily music playing time on radio stations is to be filled by Australian performances. This requirement began with 10% in 1973 and was gradually increased to 20% in 1976. The then regulatory body, the Australian Broadcasting Control Board (ABCB, the Tribunal’s predecessor) surveyed the availability of Australian material before introducing and gradually raising the quota. An earlier plan for eventually raising the quota to 30% has not been realized. Throughout the years of operation of the quota, the ABT has, in cooperation with the Australian Performing Rights Association (the organization responsible for the collection of royalties) compiled and published statistics which measure the extent of the station’s compliance with the quota.

The Australian performance quota has been the subject of much debate at all stages of its existence. It has been strongly supported by representatives of musicians, recording companies and other industries directly associated with these. It has been opposed by the representatives of the commercial radio stations, which, while supporting the concept of an overall "Australian sound," generally oppose the music quota as a means of achieving this aim. The original aim of the quota enunciated by the ABCB was to build up, in the long term, a characteristic Australian influence in broadcast music, and to advance the best interests of the listeners by using talented Australian performers, composers, arrangers, musicians and technicians: in summary, to develop a healthy and vigorous music industry. Given the assumption that the distribution of newly created music needs exposure through radio, it was intended to use the medium of radio to assist Australian musicians.

Over the years the representatives of commercial stations have argued that the quota is detrimental to the radio industry and obstructs the provision of diversity to the listener. They have argued that much of the Australian material was not of sufficiently high standard to warrant airplay and therefore the few titles that reached this standard needed to be repeated too often, thus alienating audiences.

The shortage of certain types of music produced in Australia, especially "beautiful music," has also been used as an argument against the quota, the claim being that stations using this format were either forced to change their format to comply with the quota, repeat existing material or fail to meet the quota. A crucial argument has centered around the question as to whether
or not a distinctly Australian sound exists. Commercial radio stations have consistently asserted that no "Australian sound," as such exists in music played or composed by Australians. Those closely allied with the creation of the music have tended to support the quota by using arguments that have included recognition of an "Australian sound" (however imprecise the concept may be), the need to develop a diversity of musical styles and the need to encourage creative participants within the local scene. It has also been argued by FARB (1982) that the assistance the quota has generated for the music industry is doubtful. Notwithstanding these debates, the stations, with some exceptions (usually those with particular music formats), have fulfilled and exceeded the quota, while appearing not to have lost audiences in the process.

In 1982 the debate culminated in the Tribunal issuing a proposal to repeal the performance quota and seeking public comments on the issue. As a result of the submissions received, most of which supported the quota, the Tribunal held a public inquiry into the matter, which was completed in 1986. In the course of the inquiry the Tribunal examined evidence from all concerned parties and heard the arguments concerning "Australian sound." The report (Australian Broadcasting Tribunal, 1986) concluded that the 20% quota is to be retained. The details of its implementation still have to be resolved. In its report the Tribunal accepted the existence of an "Australian sound," and stated that music qualifies as Australian by virtue of its performance by Australians. The Tribunal also argued that in the public interest, stations should use their privileged positions of licensed access to the community as a means of promoting national culture. The promotion of local musicians was considered an important means of fulfilling this aim.

During the inquiry the effectiveness of the quota in promoting both an "Australian sound" in music and the welfare of artists and other branches of the music industry was debated. Those on the performing side claim that it is still difficult for Australian performers to get exposure on commercial radio and that not only are they accorded no preferential treatment but are often discriminated against by promotional structures, especially if they are signed up by independent record companies with fewer resources. Although distribution of independents’ records was mostly undertaken by a major record company, it was claimed that these companies gave preference to their own overseas products in the course of promotion. The strict format adhered to by radio stations was also said to militate against Australian performers. Representatives of the stations, on the other hand, argued that all performers, regardless of nationality, are given fair consideration for airplay.

**HISTORY OF MUSICAL DEVELOPMENT**

Musical life in Australia never developed for long periods in isolation from overseas influences. For, not only has there been a continuous flow of immigrants from Britain and Europe, but Australia’s growth has coincided with the emergence of modern communication technologies. It has been suggested that it would have been difficult for the pioneers to find a country