

Remembering the Storm:

Indigenous people's remembrances of Cyclone Tracy explored through the medium of radio documentary

The University of Adelaide

Discipline of Media

Masters by Research (comprising Radio documentary and accompanying exegesis)

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B. Media (Honours)

Contents Page

Forward: Remembering the storm

Chapter One: What is Indigenous media? Who needs Indigenous media and why? The need for Indigenous Media. Why *radio* for Indigenous media?

Chapter Two: Why Cyclone Tracy? Background information on participants and how I chose my respondents?

Chapter Three: Why use Creative research? Participatory research methodology

Chapter Four: How did I make the documentaries? Practical issues

Chapter Five: Why are ethics particularly important for Indigenous media projects?

Chapter Six: Have I solved the problem? Research and technical issues, what new insights, solutions or recommendations can I offer?

Bibliography

Abstract

This research consists of a radio documentary that explores the mood leading up to Cyclone Tracy that hit Darwin on Christmas Eve, 1974, with an accompanying exegesis that discusses the making of the documentary in the context of Indigenous media in Australia. It further explores the social fabric of survivors' lives in Darwin during this time, the uniqueness of place, and the environmental impact of the storm. It does so in regard to Indigenous cultural traditions and the impact of the storm on families. I have focused on my own extended family and their Indigenous perspective on this event. I have sought to convey the sense of intimacy that a radio program can bring to the audience and a sense of authenticity that I experienced growing up with our family tradition of oral history. The experiences of Cyclone Tracy are recalled by my respondents with each having a unique story of survival, and how they moved forward after this devastating event. I have explored themes such as survival, tradition, uniqueness of place, storytelling, and adaptation. I have used work by researchers such as Faye Ginsburg, Terence Turner, Eric Michaels, and Kristin Dowell, who look at the uses of Indigenous media in contemporary times. Indigenous academics Rosemary Van Den Berg, Lester Irabina Rigney, Helen Molnar and Marcia Langton write about the uses of and need for Indigenous media. The need for the Indigenous voice to be heard is paramount and this is the central point of my thesis and documentary, which also examine questions of the sustainability of Indigenous media. Success stories of Indigenous media are explored using examples such as the Warlpiri Media Association and Goolarri Media Enterprises in Broome.

Declaration

This work contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in any university or other tertiary institution to Naomi Deana Carolin and, to the best of my knowledge and belief, contains no material previously published or written by another person, except where due reference has been made in the text. I give consent to this copy of my thesis, when deposited in the University Library, being made available for loan and photocopying, subject to the provisions of the Copyright Act 1968. I also give permission for the digital version of my thesis to be made available on the web, via the University's digital research repository, the Library catalogue, the Australasian Digital Theses Program (ADTP) and also through web search engines, unless permission has been granted by the University to restrict access for a period of time.

Signed:

Naomi Deana Carolin

04 December 2009

Acknowledgments

This is an opportunity for me to thank my family, every single one of them in Darwin, Adelaide and around Australia for participating in some way or another. To my direct respondents who shared with me their survival stories: I feel proud to have produced such an amazing documentary and exegesis with your help. It would not have been possible without you. I hope what I have done makes you all proud. You have contributed to the preservation of our history.

I would like to thank my supervisors, Dr Mike Wilmore and Associate Professor Mary Griffiths, who have been incredibly supportive and continually believed in this project, along with, Jenni Caruso and staff from Wilto Yerlo who provided me with continued help and encouragement over the course of my candidature.

I also wish to thank my mother for believing in me and my family, my patient partner Jim for his support, and of course my incredible friends.

I dedicate the completion of my Masters by Research to my late father Alessandro Feltrin.

Thank you.

Naomi Carolin

Forward: Remembering the storm

My name is Naomi Carolin, I am a graduate from The University of Adelaide, Discipline of Media, and have an Honours Degree in Media. I would like to take the opportunity to give some information on my background. This will give you an insight into the diversity of my family, allow you to share the passion I feel for my ancestry. It will also draw out and understand my enthusiasm for radio production and my appreciation for the history of Darwin.

I am the youngest of five children, and my family origins on my Mother's side are from Borroloola and Darwin in the Northern Territory. My family are of Aboriginal and Spanish-Filipino ancestry on my mother's side through her mother. My mother's father originated from South Africa with French and Irish ancestry. My Father and his family originated from Treviso in Northern Italy. I come from a culturally diverse background, and love it. I have grown up appreciating my family origins from the Northern Territory and have a close connection to my Indigenous family in Darwin.

I completed an Honours Degree in Media at the University of Adelaide in 2006 majoring in Radio Production. I have a passion for history, particularly Australian history. I especially have an interest in preserving a record of Australia's Indigenous, migrant and local histories for future generations, including the oral history of my family. I have grown up with an appreciation of the history of Darwin from hearing tales about the bombing in 1942, and family yarns about growing up in the post war years and their survival of Cyclone Tracy.

Darwin is a unique place. It has endured much adversity, but the people of this town- especially the traditional Territorians' have a tenacity that is inspiring to hear and read about. My family is connected to many of the local family groups, such as the Damaso's, Bonson's, Muirs, and Ruddicks. These ties date back three generations; it is a history rich in tradition and loyalty. Being an Indigenous researcher and producer of media I wanted to use my knowledge to preserve my history and share with others the spirit and unique character of Darwin.

Cyclone Tracy remains the biggest natural disaster in modern Northern Territory history and the documentary I have produced shares my Indigenous family's reflections on the event. The accompanying exegesis outlines the need for Indigenous media and Indigenous controlled media, and explains why I chose Cyclone Tracy for my Masters research. It also outlines my research process, explains how I produced the program and the ethical components, and concludes with recommendations for the future in this field of study.

I am passionate about Indigenous media and its uses because it fascinates me how others produce media. I am determined to produce more pieces of oral history for Indigenous and non-Indigenous people to listen to and enjoy. It is important for Indigenous people to share their knowledge about life and culture so that non-Indigenous people begin to understand.

From the documentary and accompanying exegesis, I want people to have an appreciation for Indigenous oral histories and their use in media. I want Indigenous knowledge to have a place in its own right in academia. I hope you enjoy reading the exegesis and listening to my documentaries.

Chapter One: What is Indigenous media?

In chapter one of my Exegesis, I highlight my position on what constitutes Indigenous media. I position myself as an Aboriginal researcher and producer of Indigenous media. To illustrate my position I will identify five key areas of Indigenous media to differentiate from what is generally termed ‘mainstream media’. I will provide examples of the way in which Indigenous media is community and culturally specific and relevant literature will also be used to support the discussion of each element presented.

This section discusses the five elements that make up Indigenous media:

1. Production in communities
2. Access
3. Training & economical sustainability for communities
4. Indigenous media compared to Mainstream media
5. Indigenous media compared to Alternative media

1. Production in communities

This section looks at the production of media in rural communities of Australia through Broadcasting for Remote Aboriginal Communities Scheme (BRACS) and the uses of New Media Technology from the Warlpiri Media Association (WMA), located in Central Australia. In addition, I look at an example from the Central Australia Aboriginal Media Association (CAAMA) located in Alice Springs. Elements of ‘community’ production are discussed; some are shared with other community media; some are discrete to Indigenous culture. Some examples of this are creating sustainable resources to rebuild culture; looking at youth disengagement from formal education, and how new technologies can enable community building. These themes will be highlighted in bold and then discussed.

In common with other community profiles in Australia Indigenous media endeavours to use cost-effective technology in the production of the various forms of media. The advantages for cost-effective production for Aboriginal communities is that it provides producers of Indigenous media with an opportunity to design and develop programs for radio and television which are relevant to the local communities, and can be produced at the local level in community stations.

This is supported by Melinda Hinkson (1996) who states:

The development of indigenous media associations across remote Australia has been seen as contributing to a tipping of the scales in favour of indigenous representation of indigenous affairs, both for local consumption and to present to the outside world. Dubbed as a way to ‘fight fire with fire’, commentators have argued that through their own media activity, groups such as the Warlpiri can themselves have some control over the way in which they are represented in the public realm. Moreover, this development is part of a much more comprehensive political process which has irrevocably shifted the relationship between those traditionally represented and those who represent. Who can speak for whom and about is now a highly contested area both in political and academic arenas (Hinkson, 1996, 7).

From the above it states the Warlpiri Media (WMA) have had an opportunity to have a voice and control over how they are presented. This came about due to past Aboriginal leaders fighting against the inequality of Indigenous peoples rights in the past. We now have a voice in the media due to some of our people standing up for what is right. An example to signify this is the political activism of the 1960s. Access to the media has come about for Indigenous Australians since the 1967 referendum, Australian people voted yes to include Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders in the census, which occurred through the political activism of the 1960s and 1970s. Such an example comes from deceased Aboriginal leader Charles Perkins, who led a contingent of students from the University of Sydney on the famous “Freedom Ride” in 1965. This activism was bringing to light racial discrimination in country NSW. “This trip became known as the Freedom Ride and assumed iconic status as the students ensured that they had press coverage for the conflicts which occurred in these towns. Their effective use of television brought the issue of racial discrimination in country towns to national attention. Perkins' role in this action propelled him to a position as a national Aboriginal leader and spokesman, a position he held until his death” (The National Museum of Australia, 2007-2008).

This exemplifies how Indigenous media came about through highlighting our struggles and our past leaders started our voice. A further example is John Newfong, now deceased, who was also a talented and respected Indigenous journalist and a campaigner for Indigenous affairs. He knew he had to use the media. He was responsible for coordinating the 1967 referendum campaign in Queensland and worked for many prominent Australian papers. “John Newfong was a raconteur with a sharp wit, a broad general knowledge and an ability to write well. He used these skills to inspire younger Aboriginal people, to educate journalists and students of the media and to influence federal policy in areas as diverse as health and the arts” (The National Museum of Australia, 2007-2008). These examples show what past Indigenous leaders worked towards in developing opportunities for better policies and access for our people. Their fight laid the foundations in utilizing the media to give us a voice.

Indigenous media is about giving our people an opportunity to have a say on issues and to represent ourselves. Indigenous media has had to fight to get to where it is today and past Aboriginal leaders such as Charles Perkins and John Newfong did set the precedent for Indigenous people to utilise the media. The political disenfranchisement suffered has given Indigenous people an opportunity to create and produce our own media. It is also through this political struggle that government funded mainstream media outlets such as the ABC fund and SBS fund have produced Indigenous content through their Indigenous Programs Units. These units provide timely advice and expertise for working with our people. Through this, “The Freedom Riders gained wide media publicity throughout Australia and internationally, arousing awareness of the plight of Indigenous Australians. Their actions were significant for, two years later, in the national referendum of 1967, the Australian people voted overwhelmingly in favour of removing individual state control over the way Indigenous people were governed and treated, gradually leading to many much-needed reforms at federal level” (The National Museum of Australia, 2007-2008).

Indigenous Youth and New Media technology use in Communities

The Central Land Council (CLC) based in Alice Springs is a representative body promoting Aboriginal rights. An article titled “*Young stars shine bright at media workshop*” discusses the emergence of young people in Indigenous communities who are embracing new forms of technology, and having access to the media even if they have left formal education.

A workshop conducted in April 2009 in Central Australia involved staff from Warlpiri Media and youth from surrounding Indigenous communities and formed part of a research project led by Dr Inge Kral from the Australian National University (ANU) on learning and literacy development. The research highlighted the fact that “there are plenty of young people from the bush who are committed to and engaged in learning despite their poor formal education” (The Central Land Council, 2009). Therefore, even if young Indigenous people have left school early, it seems they still wish to learn through new media technology, which is assisting Indigenous youth and elders to continue their culture. Staff from Warlpiri Media including Maxwell Tasman who works in video production and radio broadcasts says “We’ve got to learn from the old people but we have to learn how to put it into the database for Warlpiri people and everybody really”.

The workshop conducted by researchers from ANU has highlighted the importance of media training for Indigenous people and the importance of access for Indigenous youth to work with elders in recording oral histories and Dreamtime stories. Maxwell says, “We can learn from other people. Some people have got the answers for what we are looking for and others look to us for the answers that we got. So we have to come together and show the one big picture and the voices to tell us the way through media”. This desire to share answers highlights the important work that Indigenous media play in communities. As elders mature and pass away valuable stories of life’s lessons are being lost. Therefore, it is vital that Indigenous people work to preserve these stories to continue and maintain the lessons and knowledge. This is where Indigenous media differs to mainstream media production. It highlights that even though some Indigenous youth do leave school early, they are not wasting the opportunity to learn new skills to assist themselves and their communities. This is an example of a positive outcome of having access to facilities to produce media that assists the community. It also presents the arguments that people within the media are looking to Indigenous people to lead the way. The onus is on Indigenous media workers to express ourselves and to use the media outlets available to us.

A further voice in support of this view is Shane White, who worked with Maxwell from the Warlpiri Media Association (WMA) on an educational video. He states, “I learnt a lot from making the WETT DVD: editing, filming and interviews.

I started working with Warlpiri Media three years ago and I use the database for old photos and stories. It's important because old people are getting sick and they need to pass on information to us". What Shane talks about is important and is one of the challenges faced by Indigenous people around Australia in maintaining our culture for future transmission. Through the media and its various uses, Indigenous cultures can be stored and retold to adapt to contemporary times. The Warlpiri community use different forms of media to record the oral histories, film documentaries, and record music. Chris, a member of the Wingellina community says, "He uses music recording software Garage Band to record his band's songs. I record with my band using rhythm guitar. I am a lead singer. We record on to a computer using Garage Band. You don't really have to know reading and writing for that- you can learn maybe one week you can pick it up".

This supports the argument whilst highlighting the use of amateur equipment by Aboriginal people in Australia, and the ingenuity of communities to use what is at hand. Program makers can vary from being Warlpiri employees to everyday people in the community, an example of the latter including Chris the musician. Garage Band software, editing and recording software can require minimal training by participants. Further, Indigenous youth are increasingly using all forms of modern technology; as "Young Aboriginal people are fully embracing all forms of modern technology to watch videos on the web, download music and videos on their phones, to send texts, record music and stories and keep up to date with the latest sports results" (The Central Land Council, 2009). This signifies the shift in the uses of media used by youth and the increasing benefits of social media networking how this can benefit in the continuation of culture. Youth are becoming savvier and as technology progresses it will increase.

The Central Land Council article "*Young starts shine bright at media workshop*" highlights the range of uses of media by the Central Australian Community. It supports the discussion on production by Indigenous people and gives a clear indication that Indigenous people are utilising the media to express themselves in their own way. I argue that because Indigenous youth, local people, musicians and staff from Warlpiri media have ready access to the media it enables the members of the community-whoever they-are to create relevant community program content from the examples presented.

Indigenous media is less rigid in its method of production compared to mainstream media. This is often due to funding constraints from the federal government; however, this does not affect content or quality of content that is produced as Indigenous people continue to provide a voice to their people with whatever facilities and funding that is available. There are many Indigenous media outlets in rural and remote communities that produce radio and television content. These outlets run under the Broadcasting for Remote Aboriginal Communities Scheme (BRACS). As stated by The Powerhouse Museum Website, BRACS “was to give Aboriginal and Islander people, access to and control of their own media at a community level. Due to limited funding, basic domestic audio and video equipment was used. Each installation comprised a cabinet to house a cassette recorder, radio tuner, microphone, speakers, switch panel, two VHS VCR’s, television set, video camera, two UHF television transmitters, FM transmitter, satellite dish and two decoders. When the program finished towards the end of 1991, Telstra had installed 80 BRACS units across Australia” (NSW Department of Education, Evan Wyatt).

There are 83 BRACS stations across rural and remote areas of Australia. Indigenous people working in BRACS stations are producing media from the grassroots, which is a positive of the scheme as they help promote our voice in rural Australia. As Redemio, in Hartley & McKee argue, “BRACS communities are sitting out there in the middle of the country all over the place in the North and North-West and the Torres Strait and they’re sending us a message. The voice of Indigenous Australia’s becoming very restless. We hear that all the time. We’re hoping that people are going to get fully behind BRACS and give them one hundred per cent support in everything that they’re doing. They’re the ones at the forefront of cultural maintenance and the maintenance of language” (Remedio in Hartley & McKee, 2000, 169). There are many Indigenous communities that produce content in their own language and access to training with minimal financial support. Warlpiri media is a positive example of producing content to continue their stories and to record photos. There are many cases like this across rural and remote Australia. However, debates against the model of BRACS have to be acknowledged. Molnar (1995, 189) states that BRACS was imposed onto Indigenous communities with minimal consultation and a lack of resources. There have been BRACS units in communities that people don’t know how to operate because of the lack of training and resources available. The concept of BRACS once fully operational would be good but what is the point of having a resource like this if Indigenous media workers cannot operate it?

Therefore, the policy of having BRACS is innovative when it is working, “BRACS stations provide a unique service as they transmit both radio and television. They also have the capacity to develop television documentaries, film local sporting and cultural events, record and preserve oral histories” (Remedio in Hartley & McKee, 2000, 170). WMA has been the example I have used, to engage in this form of media but there are many other Indigenous communities across rural Australia that would do the same if they knew how to use the equipment. The concept of BRACS was that Indigenous communities in rural Australia would be able to broadcast locally produced radio and video material. Being a local station that includes mainstream radio and television programs means that the community makes decisions and has control over what was being broadcast (NSW Department of Education, Evan Wyatt). This idea is good in theory, but Helen Molnar has raised the important pitfalls of BRACS which include a lack of training to operate the units, funding for adequate equipment, software, maintenance, and the most important consultation with Indigenous communities on what they need.

BRACS has not been the unqualified success that the government wanted it to be. The work documented by the late Eric Michaels about the lack of an essential communication service in the bush, as opposed to people in the rural centres and urban areas of Australia who take it for granted was taken seriously. The work titled *Out of the Silent Land*, sprung the Commonwealth Government into action and in consultation with Telstra the BRACS systems were rolled out. The concept was a good one in regard to technology but lacked scope with minimal consultation with the communities who would be using it and with a lack of funding for training the operators in the community stations it’s no wonder their have been problems. In regard to the technology and positives “The system is so successful that Telstra has offered the technology and sold it to other countries for use in their remote communities” (Jim Remedio in Hartley & McKee, 2000, 169). The BRACS service is unique and as stated has had its problems with outdated equipment and a lot of funding constraints. However, a positive is that BRACS stations are now recognised as nationally accredited community radio broadcasters. Indigenous media workers from BRACS stations are at the heart of their community, and provide an essential service to them. Eric Michaels wrote “If culture...was fundamentally to do with communication, and Aboriginal kinship structures were themselves communication channels through which the disclosure and protection of information/culture took place, then mainstream media productions (and the flows of information and culture they

generate) would almost certainly undermine the reproduction of Indigenous culture” (Michaels in Watson, 2007, 1). The response to this argument from Michaels was a fundamental change for Indigenous people as the threat to the loss of Indigenous culture and language enacted the government into action with the BRACS system being introduced. However, the rush to implement the technology has hampered the usage for Indigenous people. In order for Indigenous media to prosper appropriate consultation, funding, training and communication needs to take place by the communities affected and with the government. The government cannot just force things on people and expect them to know how to do it. The work of Eric Michaels was fundamental in establishing this project and was a significant milestone for Indigenous media being able to broadcast in remote Australia.

The Central Australia Aboriginal Media Association (CAAMA) is an example of an independent Indigenous media outlet. The goal of CAAMA is “that Aboriginal voices be heard throughout the world and for Aboriginal people to take ownership and control of their own future through a strong, vibrant media centre. That goal became a reality in 1980 when the Central Australian Aboriginal Media Association was established” (National Film and Sound Archive, 2006-2010). In becoming an independent Indigenous media outlet CAAMA has set the bar high for Indigenous production. It has provided an outlet and opportunity to the people of Central Australia to voice their opinions. It is the belief of CAAMA that “The Aboriginal people of Central Australia own CAAMA, and its objectives focus on the social, cultural and economic advancement of Aboriginal peoples. It has a clear mandate to promote Aboriginal culture, language, dance and music while generating economic benefits in the form of training, employment and income generation. CAAMA produces media products that engender pride in Aboriginal culture, and informs and educates the wider community about the richness and diversity of the Aboriginal peoples of Australia”.

This highlights the grassroots experience of Indigenous media as it reaches communities and the benefits of having our own media organisations and our own methods of production. Through BRACS Indigenous communities are able to have a voice. Members in the rural communities as discussed from the Warlpiri example and CAAMA produce their own style of content for radio, and television respectively with minimal training to use the equipment at hand.

Mainstream media production by Indigenous people

Living Black which goes to air on SBS is a prime example of Indigenous people utilising the opportunity to have a voice within mainstream, media. “SBS has at the core of its Charter a commitment to meeting the communications and cultural needs of both Australia’s multicultural communities and Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander communities.” SBS has also made a pledge to actively engage in the continuation of Indigenous languages in Australia. According to SBS Managing Director Shaun Brown, “We have a proud track record of ensuring our content reflects the cultural reality of the Australian community. But Australian media on the whole are neglecting the urgent need for more programming that explores the rich linguistic diversity of Australia’s Indigenous peoples-including languages that have disappeared or are under threat. SBS plans to integrate the use and promotion of Indigenous languages across its television, radio and online platforms” (SBS, 2008). The importance of this is vital as Indigenous language has decreased through enforced means. This example highlights the commitment from a mainstream outlet to develop initiatives which promote Indigenous cultures within mainstream media; commitments such as this give rise to hope with the future of Indigenous media.

Living Black; aired for the first time on SBS in February 2003, with a remit to provide “a much-needed voice for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders who wanted their say on current issues of concern” (SBS, 2002-2007). *Living Black* came about due to Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander political activism by Indigenous Australians identifying the need for a voice within the mainstream media on their issues as previously discussed about Charles Perkins and John Newfong. Karla Grant an Indigenous Journalist and presenter is also the Executive Producer. The show is made by an all Indigenous production team that was put together to produce a mix of stories, focusing on social and political issues while also covering the arts and sport (SBS, 2002-2007). The history of the program it has been on air for eleven seasons and its team is a blend of both Indigenous and non-Indigenous video journalists. *Living Black’s* format is half an hour in length; the show provides timely, intelligent and comprehensive coverage of the issues affecting communities. The reporters and staff from *Living Black* follow a set of cultural protocols whilst working in communities or in urban areas.

“As an Indigenous unit though, we give a high priority to the protocols and wherever possible make contact before heading into communities for stories” (SBS, 2002-2007). The format of the program is a half hour style News and Current Affairs program that is “reporting on the stories and issues that affect Indigenous Australia”. The show endeavours to be as current as possible with its stories and has a strict production schedule to meet its target of reporting on different issues every week.

The broadcaster, SBS, which is part, funded by the federal government, outlines in its charter that it “aims, over time, to provide programming which caters for the diverse and changing needs of all Indigenous Australians and deals with contemporary issues of importance to Indigenous Australians. SBS strives for maximum involvement of Indigenous Australians in all aspects of the production and presentation of such programs” (SBS, 2002-2007). SBS recognised the need for a show like this as mainstream media was largely still not reporting on the stories affecting the Indigenous community. SBS has indicated its commitment to producing and including Indigenous content on its screens and it does give the *Living Black* program and team a greater control over what is being presented. *Living Black* also uses new media sites such as *Twitter* (www.twitter.com) and *Facebook* (www.facebook.com) to communicate with its audience. It uses these sites to source for story ideas from the online Indigenous community about what to report on. This is an effective method of engaging the online audience and shows an innovative method of engaging the community into having a say on what is being presented and is sourcing story ideas from people around Australia and possibly the world. Another element, the video journalists (VJ’s) from “*Living Black*” go out with a hand held camera and with minimal equipment to capture the yarns with people from all over Australia. Essentially, according to the programs website “the VJs travel light, carrying only a mini-DV camera and minimal sound and lighting equipment. They work solo and are deliberately unobtrusive, to bring out the best in their interviewees, as well as capturing the real truth of the moment”.

Imparja

Indigenous station Imparja also enters the debate as it was one of the first Indigenous satellite stations on remote mainstream television. The station is located at Alice Springs and came about with the inception of satellite television in rural and remote areas of Australia.

In conjunction with two other stations GWN and QSTV the Remote Commercial Television Services (RCTS) each of these stations serviced an area of remote Australia. The inception of these stations particularly Imparja, was to service Indigenous Australians but once again we were not consulted and received little information about the new technology. Further, Helen Molnar argues, “The stations, GWN, Imparja and QSTV, have failed to make a reasonable commitment to indigenous employment and program content, even though Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders were defined as one of the key target audiences for these services” (Molnar, 1995, 188). Imparja has been on the air for many years and in that time states, “Imparja is a private, fully commercial television company registered in the Northern Territory. It is unique in Australia and the world, being totally owned and controlled by Northern Territory and South Australian Aboriginal shareholders, who have never requested nor received a dividend, preferring to invest any profit back into the development of the company” (Imparja Television). Imparja claims to provide an essential service to the people in rural Australia. Imparja only produces a small amount of Indigenous content as it is more expensive to produce. The website states “Imparja purchases much of its programming from the Nine and Ten Networks, enabling a lively and varied programming schedule with most of the highest rating programs to be broadcast to an audience of over 430,000 people” (Imparja Television). It is important to acknowledge that Imparja have been criticised for including too much commercial content and not enough Indigenous content. They play a vital part in the debate of Indigenous media requiring more funding so that local content can take more of a prominent role and then Indigenous people can benefit with employment. Imparja Television deals with Central Australian Aboriginal topics. Imparja is aligned with CAAMA Productions in Alice Springs, and measures of success are that “Imparja’s has curtailed alcohol advertising on television, made the local news services accountable to Aboriginal concerns, and helped change non-Aboriginal perceptions of and relations with the local Aboriginal community. Nonetheless there is a fundamental tension in Imparja between expectations that it be an Aboriginal broadcaster and that it be what it had mostly become by 1991: 'a commercial station that takes account of Aboriginal views, rather than an outlet for Aboriginal broadcasting” (Murdoch, 2008). The example of Imparja Television has been addressed and I acknowledge it is a pity that the satellite television vision is dominated by what is cheaper to screen and is not willing to produce more local content that would benefit the local community as it comes down to funding.

The importance of capturing the real stories is highlighted by the examples in section one which looks at the “rough and ready” nature of Indigenous media production in communities through examples like BRACS, WMA, and CAAMA. The Indigenous program makers act with more discretion as the people they talk with are cautious of the media due to their perception of how Indigenous people and issues are usually type cast and dealt with by the mainstream media. The work these Indigenous media workers do is vital to their community and to educate others. They are capturing yarns that reflect their culture and speaking directly to their community. The importance of this is that Indigenous people feel comfortable talking to their own in their natural surroundings. Therefore, I argue this is a fundamental point, which will be reinforced further into my exegesis. A further, important element of Indigenous media is it’s at the community level and its one which sets it apart to mainstream. In regard to *Living Blacks* VJ’s who follow true to the same nature of production. The only difference is they have better equipment and are working within the mainstream but they have the same objective to get to the heart of the community. Their technique to take minimal equipment is important as they are able to speak to Indigenous peoples in communities and get a firsthand account of what is affecting them without being obtrusive. This tells non-Indigenous people that Indigenous media workers have a respect for protocol and care about their talent. It also gives Indigenous and non-Indigenous people an opportunity to get up close to the real issues whether positive or negative. This is supported by Kris Flanders an Indigenous Video Journalist with *Living Black* “Kris looks forward to another series of *Living Black* and sees video journalism as an innovative form of reporting, a way to get in-depth stories from Indigenous communities at an intimate level. He hopes the program will continue to educate and entertain people about indigenous issues” (SBS, 2002-2007).

The show is a further example of Indigenous people utilising the media to a small extent. As discussed earlier, previous Aboriginal leaders Charles Perkins and John Newfong pathed the way for our people to have a voice as they felt disenfranchised by the lack of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders on mainstream television and their political activism sparked change as Indigenous Australians took more of a stand to get their voice heard. In doing so, the first radio broadcast that gave Indigenous people access to media occurred in South Australia. “In 1972, the first Indigenous-produced community radio program went to air on 5UV in Adelaide.

Two years later ABC Radio started broadcasting in several Indigenous languages to Aboriginal people and Torres Strait Islanders in Far North Queensland” (National Film and Sound Archive, 2006-2010).

It is interesting to note that it is the Government funded corporations that include Indigenous content into their charter. We are yet to see an Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander program on any of the other mainstream commercial stations such as Nine, Seven and Ten. Therefore, I argue the importance of Indigenous media within the mainstream public broadcasters such as ABC and SBS is paramount. Molnar supports this (1995) “The ABC, SBS, BRACS and community access television all offer better possibilities for Aboriginal and Islander access and control of content and production, because these sectors, to varying degrees, are more committed to indigenous broadcasting, as indigenous programming is part of their mandate” (Molnar, 1995, 189).

The examples from the grassroots media of rural Australia’s BRACS stations and a mainstream media example of Indigenous media production have been discussed including *Imparja*. It’s clear there are differences with funding requirements but it is evident that Indigenous media makers from the community and the mainstream are facing the same struggles. However, the examples highlight the point of Indigenous people producing their own media with whatever resources that are available, whilst facing a continued fight and challenges that are presented. Mainstream media may have better equipment and postproduction facilities to those in the rural communities but the community media workers efforts is still strong as they are bringing our Indigenous voice to light. According to Michael Meadows 1998 in Hartley and McKee (2000) “The Indigenous media sector—incorporating radio, television, film, print, and multimedia technologies—is, in itself, an influential cultural resource. The range of Indigenous media being produced across Australia is extraordinary—and remains essentially unknown to most of the non-Indigenous population...Despite this—perhaps because of it— the Indigenous media sector is the fastest growing in Australia” (Meadows in Hartley & McKee, 2000, 166).

The examples discussed show that Indigenous media workers are producing content at all levels. Community media keep it simple while it is rough and ready at times, however, they are still achieving their goal of producing content that expresses their views.

Indigenous people within the mainstream Indigenous program units also face challenges of funding issues, and the stresses of getting our content shown. The problems of funding constraints and time allocated to Indigenous content are the major battles. I acknowledge that community produced and mainstream do differ in standards of production but they follow the same passion to bring our views to light and we operate with the same agenda to be a voice for our people and to educate non-Indigenous people about our culture. I was inspired to produce my own program through the examples I have discussed. I see community media as the heart and soul of Indigenous people. I utilised the equipment I had at my disposal and produced a program I'm proud of following the same pathways of production.

New Media Technology uses in Communities

A further example about the uses of technology and production of Indigenous media in a rural community is from "*Still Moving: Bush Mechanics in the Central Desert*". Georgina Clarsen highlights how important it is for Indigenous people to have an opportunity to use new media technologies to transform and assist in the continuation of Indigenous culture. Clarsen (2002) discusses how the series *Bush Mechanics* "humorously portray[s], without rancour, some of the dimensions of Warlpiri life under colonialism. They suggest that technologies do not carry within themselves one fixed meaning and direct us to consider new ways to imagine the country we are told is 'one Australia'" (Clarsen, 2002, 2).

This is an indication for non-Indigenous peoples to consider how Indigenous peoples look at solving problems like fixing cars and through being in tune with the environment, they can use it to solve problems. It is highlighting how Indigenous peoples use storytelling and comedy to convey messages about life, and culture relating back to our kinship systems. Indigenous people are prepared to use new technologies to produce media that is a true reflection of their culture. They are not afraid to try new things if it will benefit their community. Whilst still maintaining the traditional forms of our culture of being in tune with the land and using that to adapt with innovative technology.

Clarsen (2002), discusses how the use of new technologies in the production of *Bush Mechanics* is done and in consultation with the community. “New technologies, in particular, inexpensive desktop editing software on a standard laptop, meant that early stages of post-production could take place on location at Yuendumu, offering the possibilities of greater community consultation, sensitivity to cultural protocol, and wider community involvement in the final product” (Williams in Clarsen, 2002, 3). In working like this, Indigenous people take the opportunity when it is available to consult on what is being portrayed in the narrative, as it is their community being used.

Goolarri Media Enterprises in Broome, Western Australia is an example of a successful Indigenous media enterprise that is independent of mainstream media. It believes in “digitizing our culture and community”. Goolarri Media is just a pivotal example of the good work being done by Indigenous media workers in the community through production of our own content and this is being done around the country by Indigenous media outlets. “Goolarri Media looks to the future as it rapidly expands, meeting the ever increasing media and communication demands from the community, visitors and tourists”. The enterprise “aims to upgrade many of its facilities in the coming years not only to add infrastructure for the training and employment needs of the community but also to maintain professionalism as Goolarri takes on more roles and responsibilities in the media and communications industry” (Goolarri Media Enterprises, 2010).

From the examples discussed its important to see through production being cost effective and mobile, that this can benefit Indigenous communities producing media. The examples discussed just showcase how the use of cost effective technology aids in giving access and in reaching the community which is the next element to be discussed.

2. Access: Media access for Indigenous people, the fight to get it, and examples from rural and urban areas of Australia

Indigenous media is often less concerned by ratings or commercialisation and is driven by growing their community voice. In doing this, they are seeking opportunities for economical sustainability and job training for their people. In relation to the point on ratings, an example to highlight my position is from mainstream radio the ABC show *Speaking Out* its previous Producer/Presenter Wayne Coolwell states in Hartley and McKee (2000, 195). He argues

“The ABC has had a bit of a shift over recent years towards ratings and that’s not a bad thing, that’s okay, but the ratings become too important. I think they go against the Charter of what the ABC really should be doing, and that’s to reflect the diverse culture of this country”. Wayne Coolwell’s claims are valid and it is important to note that from within the mainstream media, an Indigenous producer/presenter is acknowledging that, yes, it is important to look at ratings. However, that is the difference with Indigenous media, it is about conveying a message, educating non-Indigenous people in Australia and around the world about our culture and highlighting the social justice issues faced by our people on a daily basis. Non-Indigenous producers may not look at these arguments and that is a fundamental difference between mainstream and Indigenous media that is produced in the community. Coolwell goes on to state “But unfortunately, there are also those who, because of circumstances or whatever, don’t really understand what we’re on about. *Speaking Out* is a very important programme. It is heard around this country and actually goes overseas on Radio Australia as well” (Coolwell in Hartley & McKee, 2000, 195). This dilemma faced by Coolwell is evident in mainstream media because there are many who don’t understand the importance of Indigenous media. They are only concerned with ratings and sensationalism; however, there are talented non-Indigenous media makers who are prepared to understand the issues. It takes the fight of the Indigenous staff within the mainstream Indigenous units to get across our points of view. Access is given but with dilemmas like ratings, and limited access to funding it makes the Indigenous media struggle harder. This is one of the differences between mainstream and Indigenous media in the rural areas and communities. Ratings in community media production is not such a huge issue, as it would be within the mainstream. This argument presented just highlights a difference with access.

Access to the media and the various formats that is produced gives Indigenous communities, and its people an opportunity to share stories on a particular issue relating to their community. It gives them an opportunity to produce media that is culturally appropriate, to do with dreaming or oral histories, individual or community achievements. In respect to radio, it aids as a platform for people to learn and hone their media skills to further their career opportunities if they want to pursue a career in the media. In support of access, Josey Farrer in Hartley & McKee states her position concerning giving access to people within the communities: “The media for us are also a means of communicating with people out there who don’t understand about Aboriginal people.

It's a way of getting messages across. And we have to present it the way the people want us to. It's mainly what people would call protocol in the Gidja word, and in our custom it's the respect that we show. It's just the way you talk on air" (Farrer in Hartley & McKee, 2000, 179). This is just signifying that through access the wider community can be educated about our culture and perhaps try to understand the daily challenges faced by our people. This now moves us to a discussion of training and economical sustainability for communities.

3. Training and economical sustainability for communities- (Examples from rural areas such as CAAMA and urban areas of Australia)

Indigenous media outlets such as *CAAMA* in Alice Springs and *Goolarri Media Enterprises* in Broome provide sustainability to Indigenous communities for jobs and the opportunity for self-expression. They also provide expert advice to non-Indigenous peoples needing marketing or media liaison, and this is an integral component when dealing with Indigenous peoples to know how to address your audience. Indigenous media provides the opportunity to have a voice; it creates jobs within communities in areas related to the media. It aids as a platform to promote Indigenous arts, music, drama, and many other creative pursuits.

An example of this is from Broome - "Radio Goolarri provides an avenue whereby social, cultural and political ideas and concerns can be expressed. It is also an area where traditional language, music and culture can be fostered along with the more contemporary forms of artistic expression. It's a place where Indigenous people can tell their own stories in their own way. It's also a place for non-Indigenous and Indigenous people to come together. Radio Goolarri – Radio not to miss" (Goolarri Media Enterprises, 2010).

There are many Indigenous media outlets in Australia that offer opportunities for work, further training and economical sustainability for Indigenous communities. Print examples are the *Koori Mail* and *National Indigenous Times* (NIT). These print outlets provide an opportunity for Indigenous writers to gain experience in journalism. These papers are examples of providing access to promote our culture and provide the opportunity for Indigenous people to express their views through the print media.

The *Koori Mail* is a favourite for many Indigenous people as it updates everybody on community news from all over the country. Content for the paper is submitted by Indigenous correspondents around the country. The *Koori Mail* is 100 percent owned by Indigenous people of the Lismore area in New South Wales and an example of offering training and economical sustainability.

Radio Example:

In Brisbane, a country music station 98.9FM (Brisbane Indigenous Media Association) is entirely run and operated by Indigenous people. The station was created after finding there was a market for country music in Queensland. They found their niche market and, as stated by Tiga Bayles, “the fact that we’re showing that we can run a professional operation and have a very professional product at the end of the day, all done by Aboriginal people—and that speaks volumes to non-Indigenous people when they can see this happening” (ABC, 2002). The examples discussed exemplify Indigenous media is strong and has the capacity to grow further.

4. Indigenous media compared to Mainstream media

Mass media is influential and is where many people gain their knowledge of life and form their opinions of the world. Mass media seeks to inform, it is where people of all walks of life see, hear, read and make sense of the world around them. Debra Spitulnik (1993), the mass media has tremendous power to mould people’s perceptions of the world, it enables people to form an opinion and thus by aiding as a vehicle of culture it’s bringing to people different experiences they may not otherwise see, hear or read about. Spitulnik highlights “the power of the mass media, and in particular their roles as vehicles of culture” (Spitulnik, 1993, 294). For example, in some approaches, “mass media are analysed as forces that provide audiences with ways of seeing and interpreting the world, ways that ultimately shape their very existence and participation within a given society” (Spitulnik, 1993, 294). The mainstream media plays an integral part in how society perceives Indigenous peoples in Australia which is frequently negative and stereotyped.

From the *Media Report* Transcript (2003, 5), Linda Burney argues, “One of the things that annoys me I suppose about the way in which the white media approaches Aboriginal issues and Aboriginal people, is that if you’re from another country you would think there was only

10 or 12 Aboriginal people living in the whole of Australia, and the media really doesn't understand or pick up the incredible diversity of Aboriginal people in Australia" (ABC, 2002). Linda Burney exemplifies the power the mainstream media play in the portrayal of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders in this country. Racist stereotypes are still prevalent by the way the community engages Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people as discussed by earlier examples. Therefore, it is vital to incorporate diversity within the media and for our people to have a presence in this country.

A positive of Indigenous people who work in the media is that they are now able to deter the negative perception and stereotypes that are portrayed in mainstream society. The power to present a true representation of our culture by producing our own media is vital in the debate.

Michael Mansell in Hartley & McKee (2000) highlights the point about the importance of our people continuing their vital work. "At the same time as us having been forced to bend to the mainstream to get our message across, I can see the building up of Indigenous media, so that we can present our views in an Aboriginal way back to our communities without having to bend at all" (Mansell in Hartley & McKee, 2000, 201).

Australian mainstream media has tended to present Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people through clichés and stereotypes such as (protestors, drunks, criminals, and victims) as described by Plater (1993). This is the power that mainstream media has had in developing society's perceptions of our people. That is why it is important to acknowledge this and then present some alternative ideas. Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people are not the above-mentioned stereotypes; we are people from a unique, rich culture that has survived thousands of years. We should ideally be portrayed as Diane Plater (1993) suggests, "As voters, mothers, fathers, children, students, lawyers, community workers, nurses and so on" (Plater, 1993, 205). This is the reason I wanted to pursue a career in the media and, as an Indigenous researcher and producer of media.

Furthermore, “Without denying the importance of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander identity, it is important that Aboriginal people are seen in the mainstream of Australian society as people with views about a whole range of subjects that affect everybody and as people who are doing things for themselves, working within their communities for change (Plater, 1993, 205). Therefore, it is vital that Indigenous people be heard within the mainstream media.

Indigenous media has the ability to look at itself from a different perspective to that of mainstream media and is completely unique in comparison. In support of this is Salina Moore “I think our people are a knowledge bank, and from that we can look at ourselves and look out and beyond, and I think that’s probably a contribution that black media can make to our community, but also to Australia and to the world. We have a unique perspective on everything, and media is a way that we can push that forward and develop that” (ABC, 2002).

Indigenous media has a different set of production values particularly when making media and reporting on Indigenous issues. Indigenous media offers an alternative on views of the world as the former editor of the *Koori Mail* Todd Condie shares his thoughts on the difference of Indigenous media as opposed to mainstream (2003, 2) taken from The Media Report, Todd Condie states:

We’re speaking to Aboriginal people. We realise that say 40%, 50% of our readership is non-Indigenous, but we’re basically writing for the blackfella at the grassroots level, as well as all the people who make decisions, funding providers, government departments, those sort of things at the higher end of the political scale. But we have a very big community focus with the paper. So gold to me is contributions from inmates in prisons, letters from single mothers, poetry from children, of our youth, which makes up the vast majority of our population. So we try and give a voice to perhaps groups within the Aboriginal population who have been disenfranchised, who’ve been kept silent and don’t have that opportunity to express themselves” (ABC, 2002).

This is a valid point. It fuels the argument about Indigenous media being needed. It does aid as a diverse voice, and it is where information comes from the grassroots. People working within Indigenous media see it as an essential service and not as tokenistic.

I agree with this point and argue in favour of the need of Indigenous media being recognized as an essential service. According to Tiga Bayles (1993, 5) “The Number One issue is that Indigenous media is seen and regarded as a giving of respect of an essential service. We’re not just a secondary program or alternative service, we are an essential service. In some of our communities in our network, we are the only service they have, they don’t receive anybody else (ABC, 2002).

Tiga Bayles is exemplifying my main argument that Indigenous media is required and is an essential commodity for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people in Australia. Indigenous media is being produced all over the country and is heard by communities in rural and urban areas. It’s imperative that the government treats Indigenous media with respect. It is essential as its value is integral to the future of Indigenous communities, and it offers tremendous benefits to our people for the continuation of our culture in the preservation of language in communities.

Linda Burney is in support of the debate (2003, 6), “But the Indigenous media’s really important because I can’t tell you the patronage that Indigenous media gets from Aboriginal people because we hear ourselves, we see ourselves, we understand the humor, and probably know half the people in the pictures. So it’s very familiar, it’s also a great source of information, and it’s a different perspective, and it’s important for me to have a profile and have a relationship and be representative in the Indigenous media, because I don’t want to lose those ties. I don’t want to lose the respect that I have within the community and the respect that I give the community, so the media is a vehicle for me to achieve that” (ABC, 2002).

These examples indicate the good work that Indigenous media is doing. There are significant differences with Indigenous media and mainstream media reporting across all mediums. In 2001, National Indigenous Radio Service (NIRS) began. Kerry Klimm explains:

There was a real need to service remote communities and Indigenous communities, so we came up with a new service which although it’s done out of Brisbane, it’s national, as it suggests. And so we focus on national news; politics—all the big issues, international issues—but we also have our

Indigenous focus, and that means we must have at least one Indigenous story per bulletin. But often, some days it can be two or three.

But we try and level that out with non-Indigenous, mainstream political issues, because Indigenous people don't just want to know about themselves. They're impacted by what's happening in Iraq, what's happening with free trade- so we mix that together. And I guess what's different about us is the way we prioritise our stories. Native Title will always take priority over other, non-Indigenous issues" (ABC, 2002).

This signifies the need for diversity in the media. Indigenous peoples are also concerned with the wider picture of the world and not just consumed by their own culture and needs. Kerry Klimm discussed how Indigenous media news agendas will change if discussing a major issue within the Indigenous community, such as Native Title. However, he touched on the bigger picture of always including Indigenous content and airing Indigenous stories whilst still incorporating other content. He discusses his views on Indigenous reporting opposed to mainstream,

We cover the stories, the negative stories, the problems of domestic violence – you can't ignore them, they're happening. And we cover them. But we also cover the positive stories, because I, myself, know the impact of negative coverage; it really isn't good on a person's psyche to keep seeing these negative impacts of your culture, of your people. You really need those positive stories, and people may go, well that's not newsworthy, that hasn't got the newsworthy sense, but in the end it does, because a positive story that helps a community tackle domestic violence or suicide rate – well, that then becomes newsworthy, so it's a cycle, really, I guess

(ABC, 2002).

Mainstream media outlets do not always report on Indigenous issues accurately. This can be due to a lack of understanding and inexperience on Indigenous issues. According to Marcia Langton in McAllister and Bottomley (1995), "It is primarily through the popular media that most Australians 'know' Aboriginal people. The Australian media also came in for criticism for failing to reflect, address or otherwise engage with the country's cultural diversity" (Langton in McAllister and Bottomley, 1995, 16).

This is not being critical of all journalists in mainstream media, but they do usually lack an understanding of Indigenous culture. Diane Plater (1993) states, “although there is a negative side of the media and its coverage of Aboriginal issues, it is important to stress the positive work that is being done between Aboriginal people and some sections of the media and give some examples of how the situation can be improved further” (Plater, 1993, 204).

This is not to claim that all journalists who report on Indigenous affairs are racist. It is just that they may often lack an understanding of the issues. Plater (1993), “Journalists believe that there are few extremely racist reporters, but many, many, ignorant ones. It is the responsibility of the industry to do something about that ignorance and it needs the help of Aboriginal people” (Plater, 1993, 204). This is highlighting the point of Indigenous and non-Indigenous people having to work together. The media is predominately white and, therefore, opinions are not always positive about Indigenous people, in order to alleviate this more education and learning from each other is required. Janke and Guivarra (2006) state “Indigenous people argue that, in the general mainstream media, many journalists do not report Indigenous issues accurately, positively nor respectfully or appropriately. Rather, the majority of representations are negative portrayals of Indigenous people thereby continuing and adding to the racist attitudes against Indigenous people in Australian society” (Janke & Guivarra, 2006, 6).

Indigenous media is at the core of the community with more Indigenous reporters needed. This signifies the importance of Indigenous media in Australia. A further example, *Koori Radio* in Sydney, which has been going strong for 20 years, again highlights Indigenous media usage in an urban setting. Although they have had to fight and struggle to get a fulltime license on the Sydney airwaves. Indigenous media is empowering and through radio, it has huge potential to prosper. Dr Stacey-Anne Wilson supports this “Aboriginal radio is the perfect venue in order to showcase Aboriginal art, culture, and history. Without it, I don’t know what exactly people would do, cos the mainstream doesn’t care” (ABC TV, 2010).

Indigenous media is on the rise, and radio and television are the most prominent formats for media to be presented. Radio is my preferred medium as it compliments Indigenous cultural traditions with oral storytelling and the use of voice.

“Indigenous media outlets could have the potential to upstage the mainstream media in Indigenous Affairs. NIT (*National Indigenous Times*) has already started to work towards this and I have no doubts that other media forms will be able to do it too” (National Indigenous Times) The importance Indigenous media plays in the diversity of information has been highlighted.

5. Indigenous media compared to Alternative media

This section focuses on a discussion of the relationship between Indigenous and Alternative media. Literature will be used to exemplify the points and to see where Indigenous media is positioned in regard to being deemed alternative. Do Indigenous media sit under that umbrella or stand alone in their own right?

Indigenous media is a means of access for Indigenous Australians to produce media that represents their culture. Indigenous media is seen as an alternative media format for peoples of the Indigenous culture to express themselves through the media. This could be through radio, print, and television, online via the internet, film, theatre, literature, and so forth. However, as stated in the previous section on Indigenous media, Tiga Bayles from Radio station 4AAA-FM in Brisbane argued for Indigenous media to be deemed “an essential service” therefore, we should not be seen as an alternative service. We need to strive and campaign to the government to treat us with the equal respect. All Indigenous people that work in the media are providing a service to their people. This is either through the mainstream, the community level through BRACS or participating in the media through Alternative Media, e.g. community radio, or community television in urban areas; it doesn’t matter what platform we are using the fundamental point is that we are accessing the media and providing a service. I argue in favor of Indigenous media being deemed independent and that we stand alone as our own media category. Although we do share many of the same qualities of Alternative media, as we are providing alternative information and views on the world, Indigenous media uses the community media platform as a means to get our voice heard to the mainstream population. Further, we do more than provide alternative information. Indigenous media use the media as a means to continue our culture for future generations, and to educate. Therefore, from my own position and that of other critics I feel Indigenous media has the right to stand alone.

As we continually embrace new forms of technology and Jim Remedio in Hartley & McKee (2000) states “Most important, is to provide the medium for the messenger, to pass on the voice of our people in our stories, in our songs, our images, now that technology has caught up with our voice. This is something to remember: technology has finally caught up with what we’ve been saying all these years and it has enabled our story to be heard across the land, around the nation, all over the world. Until now our voices have been unheard in the wilderness and no one was listening. It is incumbent on governments that now they do not abrogate their responsibilities towards our people” (Remedio in Hartley & McKee, 2000, 172). This is in support of Indigenous media being better funded and critiques what I have been arguing that Indigenous media is using all forms of communication to be heard.

Further, Chris Atton (2002) defines alternative media in the following way, “In a media culture that appears less and less interested in in-depth investigative reporting, alternative media provide information about and interpretations of the world which we might not otherwise see and information about the world that we simply will not find anywhere else. Alternative publications are at bottom more interested in the free flow of ideas than in profit” (Atton, 2002, 12).

Therefore, as stated above through community radio and media outlets in urban and community areas this has given Indigenous peoples an opportunity to present Indigenous content. Community radio is governed by a different set of media values to mainstream they survive through member subscriptions and community sponsorships. Community radio falls under the umbrella of *alternative media* and is usually staffed by volunteers in the community who have common interests and are at the grassroots of issues affecting their community. As Helen Molnar (1995) says, “while non-indigenous Australians may regard community media as alternatives to the mainstream media, for Aborigines and Islanders, community media are the mainstream indigenous media because they offer Aborigines and Islanders control as well as access” (Molnar, 1995, 181). This supports my points above about Indigenous people using the community media as a voice for their stories and is a platform for diversity to be heard.

Media commentators including Clemencia Rodriguez states (2001, 154) “Citizens media reinstate the local dimensions as a valid and legitimate expression of life and culture. Citizens media do not have to compete for global markets; they do not have to reach all audiences; they do not have to ‘talk to everyone’, and therefore, local dialects, local issues, and local codifications of social reality find their way into citizens media programming”

There are clear differences with Indigenous media and Alternative as previously stated. However, they do share the same qualities to provide an alternative view on the world, but Indigenous media I believe goes a step further. It should be seen as an independent outlet and be regarded as an essential service. As discussed by Helen Molnar, and previous examples which highlight how Indigenous media provides an outlet for our voice to be heard, it aids in the continuation of our culture and these elements are of importance because it gives us self determination, and is an essential service to its people as discussed.

“Mainstream media tend to generalize and to smooth over significant differences among subordinate groups, citizens media are in a privileged position to delve into, to explore, and to articulate such differences” (Rodriguez, 2001, 154). This point just reinforces how another equity group is using the media in America to voice their representations. It exemplifies the point that they are able to do it via alternative media and stand alone without the interference of mainstream media being the dominant platform. Alternative media aids in giving voice to those who are oppressed and not represented positively within society. Indigenous people do use the community media facilities available to them and in doing so is challenging the dominance of mass media.

Alternative media plays an integral role in the diversity of information that is presented. Alternative media doesn’t come from the major mainstream media chains that dominate. Adam, an independent media worker in Melbourne states “[T]he independent media is an activity more so than it’s not something where there’s a broadcast and then a spectator. It’s more a group activity, a participatory activity, where people not only share their stories, but actively participate in the physical making of those stories—if you’re talking about news” (ABC, 2002)

Alternative media use their local contacts to produce stories. The workers in alternative media are heavily connected to their community, and utilize these connections to reflect on what is happening around them. Alternative media is about hearing from ordinary people about their views of the world and experiences. They take more of a personal touch to that of mainstream when producing stories and with sourcing contacts. Susan Forde a Senior Lecturer in journalism from Griffith University echoes this.

I think that's a really important part of the news gathering that they do. Most of the journalists that work for these publications and for community radio are a lot more connected to the communities that they write for than journalists who work for the mainstream. If you've worked in a mainstream newsroom you would know that a lot of the journalists there are pretty much writing for either their journalist colleagues or for their editors. You find that people working in community radio and the independent press are a lot more in touch with the readership that they're writing for or with their listenership (ABC, 2002).

Alternative media is an integral player in the media world much like Indigenous media. They do share many similarities, which include being heavily connected to their community and taking a personal touch with presenting information. I still argue that Indigenous media stands alone from the examples presented. The BRACS media scheme has given Indigenous media workers more opportunity to have a voice, for those in rural and remote areas, economical sustainability and learning about the media is aiding the Indigenous population. Further, issues relating to social justice, health, housing, alcohol and drug abuse in communities, educational issues about retention of students, and early child literacy. Indigenous issues are played out in the mainstream media but it is frequently done so with bias and stereotyping. These are my views as to why Indigenous media stands alone and is an essential service Indigenous media reports on its own issues from an honest point of view. However, in doing this we still need to be strong enough to report the hard facts and be critical of our own too. Indigenous media does share many elements of Alternative media but because of the points raised above I feel strongly it does stand alone in its own right because it provides a necessary service for its people, and to inform the rest of Australia.

The importance of Indigenous media and Alternative media has been discussed. It is vital that these outlets receive continued support and remain independent from the mainstream as what they are doing is aiding in the diversity of information being presented through the media.

The need for Indigenous Media

In conclusion, the discussion and examples presented signify how production techniques, access, training and economical sustainability for communities is being done in Indigenous media. In addition, the comparisons between Mainstream media and Indigenous media, including a comparison between Indigenous and Alternative media have been addressed.

In the following section I will highlight the need for Indigenous media and why. Examples presented will emphasize the need and literature presented to underline my points. This section will be divided into four areas with examples to highlight my points.

i) Indigenous media is needed as it's a useful aid with training of future Indigenous Journalists. Therefore, we need more of our own in community media and working in mainstream to tell our yarns. I use the term "Yarn" as this is a widespread word used amongst the Indigenous community of Australia to convey how we communicate to each other. According to the Oxford dictionary "yarns" means informal "a long story" or as a verb "tell a yarn" (Oxford Dictionaries).

Through this platform of community media it assists in getting potential Indigenous people job ready to work in the media. An example to support this point is from Northern Australia the Yolngu community in North East Arnhem land. They see the positives of using radio as a medium to communicate through having local people broadcast in their local language, and represent their views on air. The Yolngu Website states "radio is the only telecommunications medium available that will deliver large amounts of information and knowledge, time- and cost-effectively, to the people of the region, in their language, in the next five to ten years. It is user-friendly and technically lean. Radios are readily available to the people - cheap to buy and easy to operate. They are also very portable for a mobile community" (Aboriginal Resource and Development Services Inc). I agree with the way the Yolngu use their media access. I argue the Yolngu people are investing in their future through having their own people broadcast.

It's aiding their community with skills to work in the media and produce their own work. They are also embracing technology and acknowledge that radio is their chosen vehicle to transmit their culture as previous examples earlier in my exegesis.

Radio Goolarri highlights through having Indigenous staff train in the media success can prevail. "Radio Goolarri first commenced broadcasting on ABC Regional Radio in August, 1991 with a one hour a week magazine program. As the station developed and the skills of trainees flourished the station gradually increased its airtime to meet staff and community demand. The station was eventually broadcasting 25 hours per week on ABC until it started to operate its own community radio license in July 1998 by broadcasting 24 hours a day" (Goolarri Media Enterprises, 2010).

These two examples just highlight the positive trend of Indigenous media within Aboriginal communities. They are creating their own media with minimal fuss and with low cost technology. It is aiding in creating positive spin-offs in communities with Indigenous peoples receiving training in media production. This could possibly assist in job opportunities and create a sense of pride and worthiness to communities. The knowledge learnt from working within Indigenous media can be passed on to other people within the community. I argue in favour of this to continue and see their work as a prime example of our people using the media to better the situation for ourselves.

According to Amy McQuire an Indigenous journalist from NIT (National Indigenous Times) she states. "But I am a firm believer that the benefits of the Indigenous media outweigh the negative. I am also a firm believer that we desperately need more Indigenous journalists reporting on Indigenous issues" (National Indigenous Times). Amy is an Indigenous journalist and an example of the success and importance Indigenous journalists play in the media. "I love working at the NIT, it is a paper that campaigns for change and for indigenous rights. I like being able to give marginalised communities a voice. I feel that the political leaders in this country don't always get to the people at the grass roots level; there is not a lot of transparency at times from government" (University of Canberra, 2008).

This again just highlights the need for Indigenous media. The next element to discuss is the need for diversity in the media.

ii) It is important to have diversity in the media and so it's also important for Indigenous peoples to have a voice so that we can be heard. Through the media as a platform it's given non-Indigenous peoples an opportunity to have a choice about whether they would like to listen and learn about Indigenous culture from Indigenous people. It supports the argument for diversity in the media and offering a different perspective.

Amy McQuire from NIT again highlights that we need more Indigenous journalists coming up through the media. If this is to happen, it will give non-Indigenous peoples scope to learn more about Indigenous culture. Amy McQuire states "But we are never going to do it if we don't continually have new Indigenous journalists coming up in the ranks who are committed to working in the Indigenous media. Indigenous media outlets don't just have the duty of being the watchdog for politicians on Indigenous Affairs; we also become the watchdog for mainstream media's reporting on Indigenous Affairs" (University of Canberra, 2008).

According to Ken Reys, an Aboriginal radio station manager from Bumma Bipperra radio, "For us in Indigenous media I think that there was pride and joy that we were finally able to create that voice for our people and by our people. It certainly takes a community effort to get there but once you've got it, there is that exhilaration of knowing that here we are now. We have our voice; we have got our place in broadcasting our voice and expressing our views about the richness of our culture and heritage" (Creative Spirits). Indigenous people feel a sense of pride in broadcasting and working in the media. In Brisbane where 4AAA Murri Country Music broadcast to Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples they found there is a huge market for country music. Through broadcasting it gives non-Indigenous people an opportunity to listen and learn about Aboriginal culture.

iii) Representation is important to have in the media and it is vital that Indigenous people can report and have a say on how we are-represented within the mainstream media. An additional case on the importance of Indigenous media is representation. It is an integral element when thinking about how Indigenous peoples are portrayed in the media.

According to Michael Meadows in Janke & Guivarra (2006), “Journalists do not understand the Indigenous cultural issues. The negative reporting that occurs is due to misconceptions from a lack of awareness, misinterpretation, ignorance, misquoting, sensationalism, exaggeration and their lack of concern. Indigenous people commonly agree that the problems stem from a lack of understanding of Indigenous peoples, our culture and history, a focus on negative issues such as alcoholism, domestic violence and other crimes, as well as sensationalism and poor Indigenous access to media” (Janke & Guivarra, 2006, 6). I agree with this position by Michael Meadows; as an Indigenous person I have frequently viewed, read, and heard biased reporting of Aboriginal & Torres Strait Islander people.

I argue that every individual constructs his or her own meaning from what is being portrayed within the media. This comes down to social status, education, religion, cultural beliefs and what individuals are swayed by governmentalisation and interpellations, those that do not follow the dominant trend are outcast thus producing “stereotypes” (Braye, 2003, 4). As a media maker, I have produced a documentary that will not be stereotyping. I’m going to be a voice for Indigenous peoples to be heard and give them an opportunity to rise above the dominant representations that are portrayed by mainstream media thus “challenging dominant ideologies and discourses” (Braye, 2003, 4).

Representation has a powerful effect on society and it is up to the audience how they perceive it and how and where it is portrayed through the media. “Power and knowledge through language constructs meaning and meaning produces and constructs cultures through communication (the body) – all of which occur at the site of representation (Braye, 2003, 5).

Ames states (2004) discusses the uses of media by local people particularly giving voice to Indigenous groups and others it relates to how a story or program is portrayed. “Studying media in a regional environment is related to the social confines of the environment. While ‘global’ media is available via television and the internet, as well as state and national newspapers, there is evidence that audiences use local media to engage with their community” (Ewart in Ames, 2004, 16). Ewart suggests “regional media play a central role in constructing and cementing the identity and culture of communities and their publics” (Ewart in Ames, 2004, 16).

This is true in relation to Indigenous media which may play a part in encouraging people's participation in community life.

In urban areas, Indigenous media is where many Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders will go to catch up with the 'mob' to have a yarn and see familiar faces. Indigenous media involves the whole community; it is a safe haven where people can create media that can be a reflection of our culture. Tiga Bayles says, "People in the community just dropped in and talk and chat, and cuppa tea—it was a real hub, especially for visitors. But for the local community—visitors when they come to town looking for an organisation or a family member or somebody, or a friend—they'd come to the station" (ABC, 2002).

This is just a description of Indigenous media in Sydney where *Koori Radio* began at Redfern. It describes the community aspect of Indigenous media and how everybody can feel welcome. It can be a place where people yarn and catch up with a "mob" you have not seen in a while. It is a hub of activity and where community involvement occurs. This is a positive aspect of Indigenous media that makes it unique. It can be more personal, and intimate.

"The interaction between presenters and their audience allows local voices to be heard and subsequently reflected back into the community" (Ewart in Ames, 2004, 16). This is an integral component of radio being an educational tool and having the ability to be heard by a wide and diverse audience. It aids in giving voice to a group that continues to be underrepresented in the mainstream media. Indigenous people have an opportunity to tell their stories in a culturally appropriate manner by a person who is of Indigenous heritage and respects their cultural protocol. Women also have an opportunity to be given a voice in the media through radio. Radio's uniqueness is in its singularity of communication technique. "Voice is the one and only method of interaction between the presenters and the audience. For women, this has an impact on representation because radio is one of the few areas in the media arena where women are unable to be physically objectified, as may be the case in visual media such as film, magazines, television, internet and newspapers" (Ames, 2004, 7). It is like saying if I was on radio, I would just be 'Naomi, who is on the radio'. I may be married or not, belong to a certain cultural background, or suffer from a disability or health condition, I have the freedom of not being unfairly represented based on appearances or other elements. This is an edge radio as a medium has over the others to represent a community and to give them an opportunity to have a "voice".

Indigenous writer, Rosemary Van Den Berg, supports the argument of Indigenous media involving the community. Molnar (1995) writes, “Radio and video technologies, in comparison, have become increasingly user-friendly, community oriented and affordable since the 1970s, and can easily be adapted to a range of uses. This adaptability has allowed Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander broadcasters to create their own forms of communication. It has also encouraged community involvement. Everyone in a community, from young children to elders, can participate in radio or television programs, increasing the community feeling of these media. This community perspective is very much a feature of indigenous radio and video programs in urban, rural and remote areas” (Molnar, 1995, 175).

This is an important point of view, as it is supporting the advantages of Indigenous peoples using the media and how it incorporates the community. It also supports other sections of my exegesis about Indigenous people using cost effective technology for production. Many of the examples that I have used exemplify the position that I’m taking and I argue that Indigenous media involves the community, and how it provides access for people to learn new skills, and it enables us to control what is produced about our culture and continue it for future generations.

This leads onto the next section of Indigenous people needing a voice within the media.

iv) Indigenous people need a voice in the media and literature that supports this will be discussed as well as examples from Indigenous media.

It is becoming clear from the examples discussed in the previous sections of my exegesis that there continues to be an exclusion of Indigenous people’s voice within mainstream media. Apart from the ABC and SBS that produce *Message Stick* and *Living Black* there is a lack of Indigenous content on our television screens within mainstream media. The only exception is National Indigenous Television (NITV) which can be seen on Foxtel and Austar the cable television networks. Indigenous media has more of a presence with radio and in print with the *Koori Mail* and *The National Indigenous Times* (NIT).

Media research by Faye Ginsburg argues that Indigenous people need a voice within the media. She has used the ABC Aboriginal Programs Unit as an example of Indigenous people having an opportunity to use the mainstream media to heighten their profile through the medium of media. Terence Turner supports Ginsburg's ideas about this, as he has worked with Indigenous people called the *Kayapo* who reside in Brazil. He was researching them producing their own videos; again an example of Indigenous people using the media as a voice for themselves and doing it in parallel with concern for their cultural beliefs. Ginsburg states, "Aboriginal awareness of the connections between political enfranchisement and the need to control their own images in the public sphere is growing" (Ginsburg, 1994, 11). Therefore, having a voice in the media is essential. Indigenous media production has increased due to the political activism of our past Aboriginal leaders who campaigned for our people to have a voice. Turner states that Indigenous media makers are "clearly interested in not leaving to Western commentators the 'last word' about themselves" (Tyler in Turner, 1992, 12). Further, "in using their own video and Western telemedia to make their voices heard-and in having the last word themselves, if they can manage it" (Turner, 1992, 12). This reinforces the point of voice being vital in the area of media and to a cultural group. And signifies the importance of who needs Indigenous media and why.

Further literature to support these arguments comes from Kristin Dowell (2006), "By taking the means of production into their own hands, indigenous filmmakers reclaim the right to tell indigenous stories in a way that honours the oral traditions and cultural worlds within which these stories are rooted" (Dowell, 2006, 381). This is just another example of First Nations people in Canada utilising the media to film their own stories in their own unique style like we do. It strengthens my position about Indigenous people in Australia adapting the same techniques. Examples of video production from the Warlpiri community in Central Australia exemplify this.

In conclusion, the last section to cover for Chapter One is why radio was chosen for Indigenous media.

Why *Radio* for Indigenous media?

In this section I will discuss the choice of why radio for Indigenous media. Points in favour of radio will be discussed there are four areas to be covered and literature that supports these ideas will be presented.

i) Radio is a good educational tool for Indigenous people to educate themselves. This relates to the continuation of dreaming stories for future generations. The media is a great platform for this to continue. For the wider population radio is an excellent platform for people to have access to learn about our culture.

Therefore, through producing Indigenous media listeners will learn and be educated about Indigenous culture, as Indigenous narratives play an integral part in informing non-Indigenous peoples of cultural practices. Through doing this and using radio as the platform information could be conveyed to listeners immediately and as radio can be an intimate medium the educational possibilities are tremendous due to the fact as stated by (Thomas in Berman, 2008, 6) “radio’s ability to teach people to educate”.

Indigenous media offers non-Indigenous people an opportunity to learn about our culture and hopefully gain a different perspective an example of this is through community radio. There was a gap in the country music market in Brisbane and so a community country music station was formed. This provided an opportunity for non-Indigenous country music lovers to listen and learn about Indigenous culture. It has been done in a non threatening manner. According to Tiga Bayles “[W]e’ve established ourselves as a very professional country music station in this country. And it is a very subtle way, and its very deliberate, that we can connect with non-Indigenous people mostly who never have the opportunity to sit down and talk with an Aboriginal person within their lifetime. So this is a way where they can sit, in the comfort of their own home, within their own space, and tune in to get their country music, but they’re getting an education along the way. They’re developing a better understanding of Indigenous issues and the Indigenous situation. And the fact that we’re showing that we can run a professional operation and have a very professional product at the end of the day, all done by Aboriginal people- and that speaks volumes to non-Indigenous people when they can see this happening” (ABC, 2002).

This supports the significance that Indigenous media plays in society and how it can be used to educate non- Indigenous peoples to learn about our culture. The next element to be covered is the advantages of radio as a medium.

ii) The advantages of radio as a medium it aids as a voice for Indigenous peoples and it is an accessible educational tool, which has many advantages in particular with production. Further, “the other major advantage of radio is that it is extremely cost and time-effective in area of content development. This means material can be created quickly and then put to air immediately. Almost all other media require many hours of scripting, translating, checking and correcting, whereas large amounts of radio content can be done in live-to-air dialoguing, thus employing live talkback and/or discussions” (Aboriginal Resource and Development Services Inc)

Indigenous media has grown in access over the years and through the use of radio and the influx of electronic media capabilities more opportunity is available for Indigenous producers of media to educate others and themselves. “The concentration on the electronic media, rather than the printed media has not been accidental. The key advantage offered by radio and video is that they are oral media, and as such they have enabled Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders to skip the print generation, because the oral qualities of radio and video are ideally suited to oral cultures and for indigenous cultural expression” (Molnar, 1995, 175). This reinforces the point of access, through independent producing, and further education.

iii) Radio is the chosen medium as it is closely related to Indigenous cultural traditions such as oral history, kinship, dreaming and storytelling. Literature supports these ideas and will be discussed to look at the advantages of using radio.

Radio is a medium that could be heard by a wide and diverse audience. It speaks to its audience aurally and the listener is taken on a journey. They experience the story through hearing the sounds, voices, and special effects that are embedded in the program. Layers are woven together to produce a program that enriches listeners experience. Radio is educational and gives Indigenous peoples access to learn from each other. The use of radio is significant because Indigenous cultures basis is in storytelling with oral history. Storytelling is important in Indigenous culture. It relates to life, art, land and traditional Aboriginal Law.

The land is where it connects from and the life lessons that are handed down through the beliefs of Indigenous culture this is the continuum.

The Australian National Museum supports this and argues, “Storytelling is an integral part of life for Indigenous Australians. From an early age, storytelling plays a vital role in educating children. The stories help to explain how the land came to be shaped and inhabited; how to behave and why; where to find certain foods” (Australian National Museum).

One advantage of using radio arises because it requires the listener to use their hearing and other senses to conjure up images derived from the narratives told by the storyteller. Remembrance can take many forms and I have focused on recording survivors’ accounts for radio because a wide and diverse audience may hear it. Radio as a medium has many advantages because according to Dunaway “listeners absorb the content without having to stop what they’re doing; radio travels to the people” (Dunaway, 1984, 80). This is an advantage of radio; it often creates the impression that the presenter or other contributors to the programme are speaking directly to the listener and no one else.

Another perspective comes from Indigenous Scholar Rosemary Van Den Berg, “Aboriginal culture is an oral culture and for forty thousand years or more, it has been passed down from generation to generation” (Van Den Berg, 2005, 1). Radio’s effectiveness as a medium of communication has been evaluated and from the perspective of Indigenous cultural traditions that highly value oral communication and storytelling as stated above by Van Den Berg. Therefore, for Indigenous culture to continue for further generations Indigenous people need to embrace technology. As technology continues to progress learning can be enhanced by having Indigenous people record their oral stories through radio, video or writing. Irwin, Rogers and Wan (1999) argue similarly that for cultures to survive they have to have mechanisms for this to happen. Therefore, by Indigenous people adapting these new and innovative ways, they are ensuring that their culture survives and the life lessons continue, which enables the stories to be passed on and people continue to be educated. Van Den Berg supports this, “Indigenous writers have opened up a whole new concept in Australian writing.

Readers are getting a different perspective on Aboriginal life because stories are coming from an Aboriginal point of view, recorded and written by Aborigines from their own experiences of being Aboriginal. And they are having more say in what is being written about them” (Van Den Berg, 2005, 1). Using radio to extend the longevity of Indigenous culture makes logical sense in regard to cost, access, and how radio simulates Indigenous culture. “Radio seems to be the medium that is most commonly used at the moment and Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander broadcasters seem to be flourishing” (National Indigenous Times).

iv) Radio is accessible for Indigenous people to use and is a favoured medium to promote our culture. Molnar writes, “In May 1992, at a broadcasting conference in Canberra, the chairman of WAAMA described radio broadcasting as 'the heart and soul of Aboriginal aspirations'. Radio has become a significant form of indigenous communication in Australia because it has provided Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders with a level of access and control not possible with other media. The two sectors that have offered the most support are community radio and the ABC” (Molnar, 1994, 1). This point reinforces the importance radio has for Indigenous people’s ability to produce narratives that represent the roots of their culture. It further enhances the significance that community radio and the *ABC* have played as outlets for Indigenous peoples to broadcast.

Further, it has become apparent that radio has significance for the continuance of our culture. Indigenous people all over Australia from rural areas and urban are producing programs for radio on a daily basis. Molnar argues, “Since the 1970s, Aborigines and Islanders have used radio as an extension of indigenous cultural expression. Programs produced in indigenous languages, featuring indigenous music, and storytelling, have all become important elements of indigenous radio and as such reinforce indigenous culture. At the same time, indigenous produced radio programs have allowed Aborigines and Islanders to set their own news and information agendas” (Molnar, 1994, 1).

This is significant for Indigenous people to be able to represent themselves when producing media. Having a say in how we are portrayed in the media is paramount and by having creative independence we are able to produce pieces about our culture.

Thomas in Berman (2008) states that “In many areas of the world, radio is still the only medium through which educators can reach a mass audience, simultaneously and at relatively low cost” (Thomas in Berman, 2008, 6). Further, it is also a great tool for reinforcing and strengthening cultural expressions and identities. Through radio as the favourite medium to promote our culture “Indigenous media express particular points of view; they reflect the intentions of their authors, whether to persuade, entertain, celebrate, criticize, inform, or combine these goals” (Leuthold, 2001, 2). This is true, as Indigenous people produce media that reflects their culture whether it’s positive or negative. It is about being informative and educating others. The media can be used by an equity group such as Indigenous people who have their own unique manner of storytelling that captures the listener’s attention they are creating “new ways of telling about “emergent differences” (Leuthold, 2001, 10). This is done through their ability to look at adversity through humorous and comedic storytelling. That reflects historical events and their spirit. Helen Molnar, argues that Aboriginal media has a respect for its people and the community. Through radio people are able to come together and participate. She states that:

Well, Aboriginal radio is like Aboriginal people, it is a community effort. Well, we all know as Aboriginal reporters ... that we have to respect the community when we go in . . . and whether it's a community in Central Australia or whether it's a community in NSW, the fact is that we have to listen to the people because that's where our directions are coming from, from the communities themselves and the people. And that's what Aboriginal radio is all about, it's the voice of the Aboriginal people (Molnar, 1994, 3).

This is signifying the importance Indigenous media plays within the community. This shapes the argument of radio being the favourite medium to promote Indigenous culture as it compliments cultural aspects of oral story telling. Radio is accessible for communities and for people in urban areas, it brings the community together and it gives voice to Indigenous people.

Radio “gives us the ability to ‘hear’ content, context, passion and pain” (Gray-Felder, in Dagon and Berman, 2008, 2). Radio has so many positive elements that make it a worthwhile medium. It is going to continue to develop in the future and move with technology. For Indigenous people we will continue to adapt and use the medium to produce programs that reflect who we are and what we continue to stand for.

In conclusion, the importance of radio for Indigenous media has been discussed with literature from Indigenous scholars and mainstream writers to support my position. The elements addressed each compliment why radio is a favoured medium for Indigenous people.

Chapter Two: Why Cyclone Tracy!

In this chapter, I will explain why I chose Cyclone Tracy as my research topic. I will give background information on it and describe the lead up and mood in Darwin prior to Christmas. To illustrate the information I will refer to literature to highlight what happened.

Why I chose Cyclone Tracy as the subject for the documentary

Cyclone Tracy was a devastating environmental disaster that occurred on Christmas Eve, 1974. It wiped out the Territory capital of Darwin and forced its residents to be homeless. My interest in Cyclone Tracy has stemmed from growing up hearing about the event through my family members who experienced the Cyclone. They have varying accounts on what occurred to them. All of the yarns I have grown up hearing all have a common theme of survival, terror, trauma, adversity and a determination to move forward. My family has a unique racial background we belong to the Yanyuwa group of Borroloola on the East Coast of the Northern Territory; however, most of my Aboriginal family reside in Darwin. We have a Spanish, Filipino, and Aboriginal heritage from my Grandmothers side. My Grandfather was a white South African. The racial mix in Darwin is diverse and remains like this today. I have grown up blessed with a family of extraordinary diversity. I have always been fascinated by the way Cyclone Tracy affected the Aboriginal people of Darwin, and have produced a documentary which focuses on there survival stories of this event. I wanted them to tell it from there point of view and have focussed on there survival stories, the environmental affects, the connections to the Old Darwin and the future.

According to the Northern Territory Library “Cyclone Tracy continues to excite the interest of all and sundry, and the fact that this natural disaster, one of the worst in Australian history, burst on to the notice of the Australian public on Christmas Day, adds to its fascination” (Northern Territory Library). Cyclone Tracy caused tremendous devastation; it destroyed lives and homes. The many residents of the “old Darwin” before the storm never returned; they stayed away in fear of another storm and the trauma caused by Tracy was enough for them. The survivors who returned live with the thought at the back of there mind it could happen again.

Survivors of Cyclone Tracy will never forget the sound of the winds. “Many people talk about the noise of the storm, especially the sound of the second wind as it rushed back after the eye. Described by some as a “jet plane” others as a “train”. Whatever, it was terrifying (ABC Radio National, 2004).

The following is an excerpt from Nanna Hilda’s memoir (2004), “*Very Big Journey, my life as I remember it*”, about her experience of the lead up to Cyclone Tracy. The residents of Darwin had heard warnings on the radio in the days prior to Tracy the attitude of Darwin residents remained relaxed and as it was Christmas everybody was more concerned with celebrating the festive season and ignored the ferocity of the pending cyclone. Nanna Hilda recollects the mood leading up to it after she left work at the Arafura Hostel. She alludes to the fact that the bush Aboriginal people sensed the pending danger and read the signs of nature by moving down the tracks out of Darwin to safety. Even wildlife sensed the danger and flew south for safety. Nanna Hilda said she and her friend saw all the wildlife flying over but they didn’t read the sign. They were none the wiser, and like the rest of Darwin continued to prepare for Christmas.

According to Nanna Hilda’s memoir (2004), “In Darwin, late in the year, the cyclone season comes. On Christmas Eve in 1974, I was working at the Arafura Hostel. We knocked off at about three o’clock and that’s when the wind started to get strong. The day was steaming hot, you could hardly breathe and the cyclone warning was out. Before the Christmas Eve cyclone, there was supposed to have been another one. Early in December it came and they gave out warnings, but then it blew out. Then it happened again with cyclone two. So that was two cyclones that had just come and blown out, and here was the third cyclone warning. The wind started on 21 December and by Christmas Eve it was getting stronger. We got a third warning about the cyclone: to tie everything down and make sure it was secure. But people were saying, ‘Oh, we’ve heard that twice now, and they both blew out’. And so we thought this next cyclone, the third, was going to be the same. It would come and then blow out. But we were wrong”.

Nanna Hilda goes on to describe the environment and mood in Darwin in the lead up.

The third cyclone was like a demon. There were clouds, thick like smoke, coming over, and before these clouds rolled in lots of ducks and geese flew over in formation, going south for safety. Millions of ants were on the run as well. I believe some Aboriginal people warned the authorities that there was going to be a big storm. They could tell, from the birds. A lot of Aboriginal people went down the track, out of Darwin. They saw the real warning, just before the big black clouds came rolling in over the Arafura Sea. My mate Cathy and I saw the birds when we came out of the Hostel. All those birds, but we didn't read the sign, we didn't know" (Muir, 2004, 99).

It's fascinating to think the bush Aboriginal people read the signs as traditional Aboriginal people are closely in tune with the environment and lands they inhabit they followed their intuition. This just highlights the importance of connection to land, and wildlife that Aboriginal people had with the country around Darwin. It was noted by family members of mine during my research process that the bush Aboriginal people did know their country in contrast to urban Aboriginal people who stayed in Darwin and lost their homes, and connection to significant places through the environmental impact.

The information to follow describes the mood and provides some background information on what happened in Darwin on Christmas Eve 1974. As previously stated, a destructive cyclone called Tracy wiped out Darwin on Christmas Eve 1974. The mood leading up to it was casual. Darwin people continued to get ready for Christmas Eve functions and normal festivities were in process. However, the weather was getting quite erratic with winds building up and heavy rainsqualls. Cyclone warnings were played on the radio to heighten the awareness to residents.

Most people continued to play it down and did not realize the impending danger. My family members were all spread out in Darwin with most thinking it wouldn't hit, but they prepared just in case. When the weather was becoming more erratic, it occurred to most that something was not right, so action was taken to pack up loose debris and tie down anything that could be blown away. The cyclone hit hard and furiously winds of up to 300 kph were recorded. The haunting sounds of twisting corrugated iron and howling winds persisted for over six hours.

The Northern Suburbs were hit the hardest, as the eye was the most furious part of the cyclone. The poignant sounds will remain with survivors forever. The death toll was 65 dead on land, including my Uncle, and 16 were lost at sea trying to save their boats. Darwin was wiped out on the most celebrated day on Earth.

There are many varying accounts of how the news of the cyclone first reached the outside world from a Darwin that by daylight on Christmas morning had no internal or external communications. Gradually the news was emitted from several points of origin, by a series of improvisations. By lunch time on Christmas Day the broad details of the disaster were known to officials in Canberra; later that afternoon the Australian public had become aware that a cyclone had struck Darwin and that the city's plight was "grave" (Northern Territory Library)

“At midnight on Christmas Eve, Cyclone Tracy roared in from the Arafura Sea and in six hours wiped out Darwin. It was Australia’s worst natural disaster – a night of fear and horror, a storm of unprecedented savagery and destruction. Winds of 300 kilometres per hour totally destroyed nearly all of Darwin’s buildings and caused the deaths of more than fifty people. When Christmas Day finally dawned, many counted themselves lucky to still be alive” (McKay, 2004). Author of “*Tracy*” Gary McKay interviewed many survivors of the cyclone and has recalled their memories through this book. This text has assisted me with my research with trying to comprehend the devastation of the event. It takes you into the world of what happened on that evening, and it makes for intriguing reading.

Further, I have investigated Indigenous people’s remembrances of Cyclone Tracy, which remains one of the most significant events in recent Northern Territory history. I decided to record my family’s oral history of this event, as oral history is a fundamental element in recording Indigenous life stories. It is a cultural tool for Indigenous people to teach and tell life experiences through voice. I have always listened to my family members talk about life in Darwin and this has inspired me to produce my radio documentary. My Nanna Hilda Muir’s memoir also encouraged me to want to research this further. She has described her experience of Cyclone Tracy, her memoir is an example of the success Indigenous narratives, and oral histories can have in contemporary society.

I have been fascinated from a young age, of the stories on how my family grew up, and the experiences they have endured. I have been taught about my family history through speech, photos, and watching old family movies, this style of storytelling has been a tradition of my family for generations.

I travelled to Darwin to record my respondents' connection to land, which is discussed above and it is built through family ties and traditions. Literature that supports this includes Irwin, Rogers and Wan (1999):

Their relationship with land is one of connection. They are profoundly connected to the land in physical, spiritual, cultural, aesthetic, and emotional ways. We suggest that their cultural memories are enacted along a continuum of belonging to the land, honouring the land, and inheriting a place. All of these memories conceptualise cultural lifeways which are different from mainstream cultures (Irwin, Rogers and Wan, 1999, 200).

This is indeed true with my respondents close connection to family ties and traditions. Through radio as an intimate medium, I aim to bring these recollections of events to life and to a wider audience to appreciate and learn. It is not so important how many people hear it, I just feel proud to have had the opportunity to be able to present these experiences to an audience who appreciates another aspect of Australian history. Indigenous oral history is a growing field. Indigenous culture involves oral interaction through storytelling, dance, and painting. Being Indigenous I will make an alternative form of media through a radio documentary that is a positive representation to tell the stories of Indigenous people. Being a freelance radio producer, I am not aligned to any media institution that has power to pressure its reporters. I am working to bring to light a voice for Indigenous people from someone at the grassroots level. It is about celebrating what we have as a culture and reflecting on the remarkable people who I have grown up admiring because of their spirit and devotion to culture. The significance of this project is that through radio these stories can be shared and relived for future generations to enjoy and learn from. "In order for Aboriginal cultures-well for any culture-to survive, they have to have mechanisms by which the transmission of that culture goes from generation to generation" (Irwin, Rogers and Wan, 1999, 205).

Therefore, this is how my fascination with Cyclone Tracy began and so I researched more into this event. I have experienced the memoirs and stories that I have been told, a sense that is magnified for me by the intimate relationship I have with my family members. I hope that by presenting my work as a radio documentary. I can convey the same sense that the people that I interviewed are speaking directly into the listener's ear, sharing their innermost thoughts, evoking a sense of intimacy.

What my family has shared with me is an integral part of who I am today and I find it a privilege to be able to share it with others. That is why I have chosen to research Cyclone Tracy and share my Indigenous family's experiences of this event.

Indigenous Perspectives

This section looks at a discussion on the significance of this event for the Indigenous peoples of Darwin and examines the environmental impact, through connection to land, and the impact on families being split up. Further, I examine elements of how Cyclone Tracy affected my Indigenous family one of which is the environmental effects of the Cyclone and how the environmental disaster affected Indigenous culture and the connection to land. People's remembrance of significant places is important, as is the impact the cyclone had on marine, bird and environmental habitats. It was devastating for people to lose their homes and because Indigenous people have a deep ancestral connection to the lands they inhabit it was even more significant for them. The land is where laws, stories of life, and cultural education come from "Aboriginal peoples have always relied on land for survival and cultural meaning" (Irwin, Rogers & Wan, 1999, 199).

This is very much a theme in the documentary as family members speak of places they use to fish at or meet for special occasions. Due to the environmental damage these significant spots no longer remain, which is also due to the development of Darwin since Cyclone Tracy this has created a storm of its own. There are now restrictions on how much fish Indigenous people can catch and for traditional peoples this is harsh as cultural practices are being hampered. It's traditional for Indigenous peoples to catch many fish and crabs, which they share with their whole family or community. The land is where Indigenous people rely on hunting and gathering for survival. The changes since Cyclone Tracy to the environment and the new laws imposed on fishing will continue to hamper Indigenous cultural traditions.

Further, “Australian Aborigines have the most intimate relationships between land and language” (Abram in Irwin, Rogers & Wan, 1999, 203). This is significant for Indigenous people of Darwin, as my family members speak affectionately of places that they frequented and that now are destroyed by the Cyclone as previously stated.

They keep the stories going by instilling it in the younger generation like myself and we then have to pass this on to continue our culture. This is magnified in the next section as I highlight why I chose the people I interviewed.

Participants

This section will discuss the reason for deciding to use the participants I interviewed.

i) Background information on Participants

I will list the respondents and their relationship to me.

- 1) **Lorraine Carolin (Mother)** – I selected my Mother as she always would tell me about her experience of the Cyclone and Mum is a great storyteller. I wanted her to have an opportunity to share her survival story as she was heavily pregnant with my brother Michael. The weight of my Mother may have assisted in holding down the car where she and the family sheltered in a Holden with a flat tyre for many hours.
- 2) **Leann Bonner (Sister)** – I selected my sister Leann as she was 8 years old I wanted to get an opinion of someone who was a child when the cyclone hit. It was very traumatic for her as she missed being separated from her father.
- 3) **Aunty Cathy Wilson (Aunty)** – I selected Aunty Cathy who grew up with my mother. Aunty Cathy is a part of our extended Indigenous family. She is someone I truly admire and is a classic storyteller she recollects her memories of the event and “her wedding dress is still blowing around with the wind”.
- 4) **Liz Pearce (Cousin)** – I selected my cousin Liz as she is a comical storyteller and her experience of the event is unique in nature too.

- 5) **Theresa Rowe (Cousin)** – I selected my cousin Theresa as she is a great storyteller. She speaks of her experience looking after her family, and putting the presents under the tree. She also has a classic yarn about her grandfather being prepared with traditional bush tucker. Being Aboriginal they were prepared.
- 6) **Uncle Eddie Motlop (Family friend)** – I selected Eddie who is a family friend and was a young man when the Cyclone hit. His family survival story is very unique too. He recollects how their pet dog and bird behaved during the cyclone; it's like they sensed it was coming.
- 7) **Uncle David Butler (Uncle)** – I selected Uncle David who grew up as an extended member of our family. He was living in Perth when the Cyclone hit. He had a feeling something was wrong and knew his mother had passed during the Cyclone. He flew up to Darwin and he recollects what he saw when he got there. He is a fantastic story teller.

These are the respondents I selected to include in my documentary. They all have a unique story to share. Their yarns compliment the themes in the program and they have important stories.

ii) Why I chose the selected respondents.

I selected respondents who are talented storytellers. I interviewed members of my Indigenous family because I have grown up hearing about their survival of Cyclone Tracy. I selected my mother, sister, cousins, aunties and uncles, and extended family. Hearing their recollections of this event signifies its importance from an Indigenous person's perspective. As people's lives were torn apart and so connections to family, connections to land and significant places were stripped away from survivors of the storm. Cyclone Tracy has played an integral part in separating people from their family's and has impacted on Indigenous people in various ways. These include restrictions on traditional cultural practices such as fishing, crabbing, and areas where hunting and gathering can take place. My family members who endured Cyclone Tracy speak about their memories, looking back at this adversity remarkably well. Indigenous storytellers are noted for their comical attributes and not taking themselves too seriously.

These qualities make for an enjoyable and educational radio documentary and these were important elements when I produced my radio program. I want listeners to have an appreciation and hear the fondness of Darwin from its original residents. It is nostalgic, as there is a link to place, to home and to pain through having to overcome adversity. I would like listeners to learn a lesson on multi-racial cultures and have an understanding on Indigenous issues, and the closeness of the community seen through the eyes of my family.

“Many Aboriginal people are raconteurs; skilled storytellers. I have had the pleasure of listening to many Aboriginal storytellers and by their words and actions they bring the listener into the story, that is, they listen and visualise the story and become a part of the process of storytelling. These gifted people have a charisma that captivates their audience with their words and actions and facial expressions” (Van Den Berg, 2005, 2). This is the reason I selected members of my immediate and extended Indigenous family because they are talented storytellers. A radio documentary about Indigenous people’s accounts has not been done for radio and this is a great opportunity to celebrate Indigenous culture and moving on after a disaster.

In conclusion, why Cyclone Tracy was chosen as my thesis topic has been discussed. The importance of Indigenous people’s perspectives on this devastating event has been addressed. I have discussed why I selected the respondents I interviewed and given background information on their relationship to me. I argue that it is imperative for Indigenous people to have a voice and sharing their experiences of Cyclone Tracy is a good avenue for this to begin.

Chapter Three: Why use creative research? Participatory research methodology

In this chapter I will explain why I decided to do a creative thesis, and the methodologies I employed whilst researching and putting together this project. I wanted to put together a creative documentary and an accompanying exegesis, as it is an innovative way to express myself academically. I have during the entire process of researching and producing my program been reflecting on the entire process and critiquing my work.

Methodology

Participatory action research was a method I employed to gather my research data. “Participatory action research (PAR) is a method of research where creating a positive social change is the predominant driving force. PAR grew out of social and educational research and exists today as one of the few research methods which embraces principles of participation and reflection, and empowerment and emancipation of groups seeking to improve their social situation” (Hughes, and Seymour-Rolls, 2000, 1).

I envisaged that my project would have these principles because I wanted my respondents to have as much participation as possible. In addition, I was very reflective with my process of critiquing my work. I examined documentary making both radio and film. I researched into mise-en-scene, sound conventions, and elements of radio documentary making. I critiqued my first version of my documentary and made numerous changes to it. It was a process I enjoyed as I was learning by doing and it was very reflexive. I was researching into radio documentary making and the uses of media by Indigenous people. It became clear to me as I was doing all this research the process worked hand in hand. I wrote my script while in Darwin conducting the first part of my interviews. I then went about doing extra secondary research to understand the gravity of Cyclone Tracy. This included visiting the Cyclone Tracy display at the Northern Territory museum, viewing photos, reading transcripts at the Northern Territory Archives, and books on the event by Gary McKay and my Nanna Hilda Muir. All this extra research assisted with my understanding about writing a script and presenting a documentary that was an accurate reflection of the event. I was seeking the participation of my respondents and always went back to clarify anything with them. Through this project I have wanted to improve the situation for Indigenous people having access to the media.

With this project I have been able to provide my family who participated in it with the opportunity to have a voice in the media. They have contributed to this in a huge way by allowing me to become privy to their stories.

In view of my participants having a say with my project and following the conventions of (PAR) Participatory Action Research, I mentioned above I clarified and worked with respondents closely to make sure my information was accurate. This supports the notion of this methodology. William F. Whyte states (1989), “Participatory research is a methodology in which the professional researcher invited one or more members of the organization studied to play more active roles than simply those of passive informants. This relationship may be established on a formal basis without the researcher becoming an active participant in the organization studied, but it is particularly likely to develop in combination without participant observation. As the research proceeds, the participant observer recognizes that some informants are much more valuable than others, not only in the information they can provide but also in the analytical ideas they can contribute” (Whyte, 1989, 369).

This was very much the case; I spoke with Nanna Hilda for guidance during the gathering of information. I interviewed her and used her memoir *Very Big Journey: My life as I remember it*, to guide me during this process. I spent a great deal of time in Darwin immersing myself with my respondents as I wanted them to have active roles in the project. This included them showing me photos, books, sharing their yarns. I provided them with copies of their interviews if requested. I also reflected with them about the research process I was undertaking. They were all incredibly supportive and appreciative of the opportunity to share their yarns. I took on board any ideas from my respondents that they had for the documentary; this included naming them and including Indigenous music.

When putting the documentary together I worked in tangent with my running sheet and the script I had prepared. I noted down what needed changing as a reminder to me for the next version. This was a part of my methodology and I was constantly reflecting on the entire process. Therefore, this represents a point of PAR being able to reflect and with wanting to create a documentary about Indigenous people’s remembrances of the Cyclone I have actively been seeking to empower and improve Indigenous people’s social situation.

In reflection, I have aided in doing this, and the methodology has been useful and practical. I gathered all the information I required and have produced two versions of my documentary that follow the principles of Indigenous media production. I have been able to provide access, representation, and produce a documentary that does not stereotype or bias Indigenous people. I have followed meticulously correct Cultural Protocol. I listened to previous work done on ABC Radio about Cyclone Tracy, and Indigenous shows *Awaye* and *Speaking Out*. I noted the cultural protocol they follow with placing a warning at the beginning and I employed this technique with my own work.

“Participatory action research can be defined as ‘collective, self-reflective enquiry undertaken by participants in social situations in order improve the rationality and justice of their own social...practices’ (Kemmis and McTaggart, 1998, 5). Research using PAR as its method will happen in the four moments of action research, namely reflection, planning, action and observation. These research moments exist interdependently and follow each other in a spiral or cycle” (Hughes, and Seymour-Rolls, 2000, 2).

With this method of work, I employed these techniques. I was continuously working in a spiral as I was working in tangent with producing my documentary, conducting interviews with my respondents and critiquing my work at the same time. It was a process that was reflective and I learnt a great deal from it. I was able to see and hear how I wanted my documentary to finally sound. I clarified all my information from my respondents and ensured they had a say into the process if they wished. They were all a joy to work with.

Upon listening back to my documentaries I was able to observe what needed changing. I had been proactive with planning my project very well; the production stage was my favorite as it gave me an opportunity to utilize my radio production skills. I put into action how I wanted the documentary to sound and according to previous planning that was in my running sheet and script. I investigated thoroughly how ABC radio national programs are formatted and aspired to reach this kind of format. However, my program doesn’t conform to this was a highlight of being able to produce something independently. The four areas of PAR were followed and I have come up with two versions of my documentary including my exegesis.

From an Indigenous perspective this methodology worked for me and my respondents because, I was working in conjunction with them to gain the Indigenous voice on this dramatic event.

It is paramount from earlier chapters of my exegesis that Indigenous people need and will continue to utilize the media to get our voice out there concerning issues. Indigenous knowledge deserves a place in academia and as an Indigenous researcher from the discipline of media I feel strongly about this. My position has been to increase the awareness of the uses of media by Indigenous people. As an expert in my field I feel what I have contributed to the discipline is aiding in rectifying the trend of not hearing the Indigenous voice within mainstream media. As an Indigenous researcher I have applied my knowledge to collaborate with my Indigenous family in creating a documentary that documents how Cyclone Tracy affected the Indigenous community and the importance of preserving our history through the medium of radio. I found the methodology of PAR to be useful and it complimented the style of research I was working towards.

According to Lester Rigney, an Indigenous academic, it is imperative for Indigenous Australians to conduct research about our people. I position myself in this mould also because research done by our people is vital to the continuation of our culture, and the continued political struggles we face. Indigenous media still faces many challenges; therefore, it is important to continue research in this field. It would be more appropriate for it to be done by our own people. Lester Rigney states (1999), “Indigenist research focuses on the lived, historical experiences, ideas, traditions, dreams, interests, aspirations, and struggles of Indigenous Australians. Indigenous Australian are the primary subjects of Indigenist research. Indigenist research gives voice to Indigenous people” (Rigney, 1999, 117). I agree with this theory of Lester Rigney and argue in support of more Indigenist research being conducted by our own people. It is more culturally appropriate for us to be involved in the research process and I feel strongly about this. This is what also inspired me to do research into the uses of Indigenous media and to produce a documentary about Cyclone Tracy.

The discussion on the methodology I used has been addressed. I have explained my process and found the use of Participatory Action Research (PAR) to be very useful in the gathering and process of my information. It complimented the way I wanted to work and therefore I found it a very successful process.

Chapter Four: How did I make the documentaries? Practical Issues

In this chapter, I will explain the process I took in making my documentaries and explain why there are two versions of it. I used the knowledge and literature I compiled in chapter one on Indigenous media to assist me in the process of being able to evaluate both documentaries and I have critiqued them using the elements and techniques that will be discussed. I also took into account the way mainstream media produce their radio programs and I researched Indigenous media production in rural and urban areas of Australia. I wanted to employ a mixture of techniques to create a unique program. I was meticulous with my scripting of the documentary and ensured I did research into the disaster prior to compiling my interview questions and conducting my interviews with respondents.

I listened to Indigenous radio programs produced on ABC radio, *Awaye* and *Speaking Out*. This was a part of my methodology of actively being involved in all the processes. I was “learning by doing” which is apart of the “action research” process I employed some of the ABC editorial styles of placing a cultural warning at the beginning of my programs on both versions of it and have acknowledged the cultural protocol guidelines of ABC and SBS. However, being an independent Indigenous media maker that element is apart of appropriate cultural protocol and ethics which I again researched heavily. As an independent media maker I made use of the equipment I had at hand which was my laptop, Sony MP3 voice recorder, Cool Edit Pro (editing software) and I utilised the opportunity to produce something unique.

I compiled a storyboard and running sheet outlining the themes to be in the documentary and then I listened to the interviews I conducted to decide on what snippets of interviews would slot under the themes. I used 7 people’s stories and interviewed 15 people. I couldn’t use all the material I gathered so I had to be particular with whose stories I was going to share. I already had a rough idea about how the documentary would sound and the format I wanted it to take. But in order for it to come to fruition I had to be organised. For the post-production process I needed to write the storyboard/running sheet to see on paper where things would fit for when I started putting the first rough cut together. I was fussy with my editing, and omitted breathing and extra noise. I also had to adjust the levels and normalize the interviews with adjusting the levels this relates to the sound.

I wanted there to be a clear continuity with my program so that the listener can hear what the respondents are saying and so it is clear and crisp. I also had to adjust the music, and sound effects levels so that they come in at the right time and were not too overpowering for the listener. This was the process I took and I listened attentively with my headphones to achieve all this and wrote down notes on what needed changing in my production notes.

I also wanted the documentary to be about the respondents and this element I succeeded in achieving. I was going to take a bit of a back seat myself and not narrate too much, however, I realised the listener needs to be guided about what is going on, and so I wrote the script with narration from me, and organized it around the four themes I was investigating: The mood leading up to Cyclone Tracy, survival stories, where did you end up, the environmental impact (i.e. connection to land), and impact for you as a person? After doing the running sheet I used this as a guide and inserted more things as I went along, i.e. the need for sound effects like wind, and background music or stings which are sound effects that act as a segue to the next element to be covered.

After I produced my first cut of my documentary I critiqued it according to all the research I had done.

Critique of documentary version one

My primary focus as an independent producer is to have Indigenous peoples accounts voiced. I consider myself an independent producer as I am having the final say on what content goes into my documentary and how it will sound. A number of works about Indigenous media have influenced my way of thinking and much of it supports my position on the representation of Indigenous peoples within media. Furthermore, as an independent research student I have had the opportunity to produce and write literature on a field that is still relatively fresh and foreign. Writers such Faye Ginsburg and Helen Molnar, whose work has supported earlier sections of my exegesis, suggest there appears to be an under representation of Indigenous people's voice within the mainstream media. Therefore, through radio I am going to aid in rectifying this trend.

Mainstream media continues to be dominant and this for an Indigenous person is an element that they feel hindered by therefore we need more of our own producing media. Indigenous people feel less threatened when content is produced by our own this is heightened by

examples discussed from Helen Molnar, Rosemary Van Den Berg and Lester Rigney, who are Indigenous Academics that are passionate about Indigenous people conducting research and further, producing our own media, examples of the different forms of media making is happening all over Australia in regional and urban areas through BRACS and Warlpiri (WMA). This point reinforces the importance radio as a medium has on Indigenous people's ability to produce narratives that represent the aesthetics of their culture. This is because of the access, and content being produced, and is an advantage for Indigenous peoples who produce media.

Being an Indigenous producer of a radio program, I have gone about formatting my documentary as a two part series. The first cut of "*Remembering the Storm*" was completed in mid 2008. I have analysed it, and assessed what I needed to include and omit from the program. I used literature from the *New Zealand Qualifications Authority (2003)* as a reference as the information I obtained on "*producing a radio documentary series*" complimented the aesthetics of radio production I wanted to employ. I also referred to literature from the ABC and SBS websites on their editorial styles.

The criteria I developed are listed below:

- Adequate Sound quality
- Technical production
- Formatting of documentary i.e. length and style
- Structured i.e. in terms of the target audience and topic content to be covered
- Narration
- Ambience (sound effects)
- Material is recorded at a technical level suitable for broadcast
- Suitability of radio broadcast i.e. target audience
- Scripting
- Editing
- Naming of respondents/identify my relationship to them
- Positive framing of Indigenous people/ Educational
- Followed correct Cultural Protocol
- Traditional in terms of Oral Story Telling

I developed these criteria in consultation with information I researched about Indigenous story-telling and employed techniques that were discussed in the literature discussed. Upon listening to the first cut of my documentary with my supervisor I noted that the technical side of it needed some adjusting. This is to do with sound levels and omitting loud or unusual levels. Therefore, ensuring that respondents voices and “material is recorded at a technical level suitable for broadcast” (New Zealand Qualifications Authority, 2003). I have been very stringent with my scripting for the program and have ensured it is “structured in terms of the target audience and with the topic content to be covered” (New Zealand Qualifications Authority, 2003). Further, from this I have not assumed that listeners would have any prior knowledge of the event. Therefore, I have introduced myself as narrator and the reasons for producing the program. Background information on my Indigenous family and the mood leading up to Cyclone Tracy was included and the events that occurred before and after the disaster.

My narration in version one of the documentary takes up five minutes at the beginning. I have since changed this and have included the first half of it but then have used the rest of the information during the middle part of the program. There are elements of documentary making particularly in radio production to create a segue to another part of the piece this can be done through music “stings” or narrating thus creating an ambience/mood to carry the listener/s to the next stage of the program. As discussed by Spinelli (2006) “ use of music as a “sting” or segue to another theme of the program” through the use of “framing devices, voice bumpers or music bumpers that are three seconds or a minute long signals a change or mood to the program” (Spinelli, 2006, 207). These are presentational techniques which relate to mainstream media aesthetics of radio productions; however, they can be incorporated by Indigenous peoples. Indigenous media makers, therefore, could integrate this technique by using stings like didgeridoo sounds or using voices of respondents saying quotes. Encompassing these elements enhances “listeners experience by the use of music and sound effects” (New Zealand Qualifications Authority, 2003). Through doing this linked structure it assists with continuity, and through creating an ambience/mood for the listeners it keeps them engaged with the story. It’s a smooth transition to the next stage of the program, and keeps listeners fascinated, intrigued and attentive. Further, ambience and sound effects are integral to creating and enhancing the experience of radio documentary to listeners.

I deliberately omitted putting in ambient sounds in the first version I decided I wanted them to go in the second version.

I realised the naming of respondents was important and ensuring the respondents have an identity to the audience. My supervisor acknowledged that naming of the respondents would be an essential component. I therefore, decided upon naming my respondents and identifying my relationship to them at the beginning of my program. When narrating the program in version one I just mentioned you will hear from Lorraine, Leann etc, however, upon listening back to the program I decided I was going to change this to what the relationships are I have with each respondent i.e. you will hear from my mother Lorraine, and sister Leann then have their story unfold. This will add to the authenticity and identification of the respondent's remembrances and aid in the relationship and connection for the listener. I want the listener to feel empathy for the respondent's point of view. I believe this has been achieved. It is being able to frame positive expressions of Indigenous peoples oral histories through an engaging medium being radio and ensuring the listeners connect with the stories, by thinking and feeling Lorraine's story is unique or having some kind of connection to the respondents in some way or another. I feel that both elements can be achieved as listeners of Indigenous heritage may connect through their own experiences. I wanted listeners of the program to connect to my respondent's stories and feel strongly they will. They could share a connection with the stories they hear as they may have experienced some kind of adversity in their lives or know of someone who has experienced something similar this relates to the human spirit. Due to the adversity of Cyclone Tracy occurring on Christmas day and the survivors having lost everything many of the respondents tell of their feelings. This would appeal to the human spirit and perhaps make people think how they would feel if it happened to them, through my respondents sharing their experiences its educating listeners of Indigenous and non-Indigenous backgrounds about the connection to land, extended family networks, knowledge systems and traditions of the community of Darwin. Life before Cyclone Tracy for the residents of Darwin was relaxed the community was a strong one until Cyclone Tracy came along and changed everything for its residents.

Through producing this piece it is hoped that listeners will learn and be educated about an event that had a huge impact on Indigenous peoples in Darwin. Indigenous narratives such as this play an integral part in informing non-Indigenous peoples of cultural practices.

After completing the first critique of my documentary, I realised what it still required to make it suitable for it to air on radio. I will now discuss the elements it needed and what I added and did to change it.

Documentary Production Qualities

Audio:

I identify that I had technical limitations with the equipment I used. In addition, some of the interviews are done in places with background noise and could affect the listener. However, I have edited it to the best of my ability and with the resources I had available. I used a Sony voice recorder for capturing the audio used. I edited the material with Cool Edit Pro on my laptop. I didn't have any opportunity to work in the studios of Radio Adelaide. The interviews I collected were done onsite in Darwin and Adelaide.

In acknowledging this, I don't think it has hampered my documentary, it has added more of a personal and intimate sound. It also supports the arguments from chapter one about access and production of media by Indigenous people. I have been able to give access to my Indigenous family to speak in their natural surroundings and share their yarns about Cyclone Tracy, thus giving them a voice.

Direction, editing, and sequencing of material:

The editing of material was done to the extent that I was happy with it to suit the sound and mood of the two part series. The technical limitations in production standards I acknowledge that this program does not use professional equipment whereas someone in mainstream media would. I'm critical of my own work, but I wanted to be independent. I believe my program complies within the standards of amateur formats of radio production and I believe it could be used by mainstream media such as ABC or SBS radio as they would have the necessary equipment to tidy it up for their audience, however, if this was to be the case I would require a great deal of input as I'm ensuring I protect my respondents through following appropriate cultural protocol and intellectual property rights.

Critique of documentary two:

The second version of my documentary is the final one and I'm completely satisfied with everything that has been included. I included everything that was required. I added the ambient sounds required for my documentary to have the mood I was aiming to create, i.e. winds of cyclone, and stings to the next theme of the documentary. I also included the relationships the respondents have to me i.e. my sister Leann, my mother Lorraine, and cousin Liz. The naming of respondents is an integral element as it adds authenticity to the program and to the narratives being told. The listener can think "oh Leann's story" reminds them of someone they know or for the listener it is informative for them.

The sound content and voice-overs is now at the level of production that I want it to be. I have worked on adjusting the sound levels and I am now satisfied with all that. The technical production of the piece is suitable for community radio broadcast and for ABC programs like *Away* and *Speaking Out*. It is not professionally done; however, in regard to this it could be remastered with equipment from mainstream radio to get it to the quality they desire for broadcast.

The narration in the program has now been changed. At the beginning I have cut some of the information and now include more of the story later in the documentary. This assists in creating a segue to the next theme. Therefore, in doing this technique it doesn't give it all away at the beginning and is a good way of story-telling. My narration sets the scene it is informative and sets the listener up for what the story is about. I have acknowledged the use of the cultural warning by the ABC, and have included an acknowledgment to the traditional owners of the Darwin area the Larakia people, in addition, I have also acknowledged the music used that accompanies the narrative and the didgeridoo sounds, these are from Yothu Yindi's (*Treaty* Song) and background music *No Ordinary World* by John Farnham.

Chapter Five: Why are ethics particularly important for Indigenous media projects?

In this chapter, I highlight my position on the importance of seeking ethical clearance when working on research projects to do with Indigenous Australians. It is imperative when working with Indigenous people to respect their need for privacy. “Protocols are ethical principles which guide behaviour in a particular situation. These protocols are designed to protect Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander cultural and intellectual property rights” (Oxfam Australia, ATSI Cultural Protocol, 1). As an Indigenous person, I still have to follow appropriate cultural practices and show respect for the people I am interacting with and researching. According to Oxfam Cultural Protocol “Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples should be consulted and involved in all decisions affecting their cultural heritage and in particular, on the ways in which their history, community, stories and interviews, lives and families and cultural and intellectual property are represented and used” (Oxfam Australia, ATSI Cultural Protocol, 3). During the development of my documentary, I have involved the respondents I interviewed especially if I needed clarification on any details regarding the Cyclone and the research I undertook.

Therefore, as a researcher and producer, I have at all times during my research processes adhered to my responsibility and have implemented correct cultural protocol as stated. I have acknowledged the traditional owners of the lands in Darwin the Larakia peoples. I was aware of correct cultural protocol after doing previous research for my Honours Degree I produced a radio documentary on the Post War Years of Darwin. In addition, being an Indigenous person, I am acutely aware of my responsibilities as a media maker and researcher. I have shown respect at all times for the privacy of my respondents and any decision they have made regarding my research. During the Ethics process, I prepared an information sheet outlining what my research project was about and I stated to my intended respondents that I would respect their decision to participate or not. I was guided during my ethics research by the guidelines laid down by the University’s Human Research Ethics Committee (HREC) and cultural protocol that was developed by the *ABC* and *SBS*, as they both have editorial policies on appropriate cultural protocol for people working on media projects to do with Indigenous people.

Furthermore, the reason for having cultural protocol is, “generally, protocols are appropriate procedures for interactions; they provide a basis for the way dealings occur within a particular situation, community, culture or industry. Agreeing to comply with the accepted protocols of other cultural groups promotes interaction based on good faith and mutual respect, thus encouraging ethical conduct” (Janke & Guivarra, 2006, 17).

This is very much the case with how I have conducted myself in the research process and in the postproduction. It is vital that all people who work with Indigenous peoples in Australia understand the process of cultural protocols and endeavour to utilise the information available as every community operates differently. “Indigenous cultural protocols are about acknowledging and respecting cultural Indigenous cultural beliefs and practices. In this regard, Indigenous protocols will differ from community to community. Protocols are the specific etiquette that should be adopted when interacting with another culture, and especially when using another’s cultural material” (Janke & Guivarra, 2006, 17).

When producing work for radio and on Indigenous people I ensured I did extensive background research into my research topic. This included reading secondary sources relating to the event. I also listened to radio snippets on survivor’s stories produced by *ABC Local Radio* in Darwin. I recorded my respondent’s recollections of their remembrances of Cyclone Tracy. I then collated this information to present a reflective piece of quality radio. I titled my program, “Remembering the Storm: An Indigenous perspective of Cyclone Tracy explored through the medium of radio documentary. When I was collecting my respondent’s stories, I ensured I spent extensive time with each of them so that I could capture their yarns and I viewed photos they had on the disaster. During the interview process, I ensured my respondents were comfortable, and I showed the respect that is required when interviewing family. As a researcher, I used correct cultural protocol and I based my findings on what my respondents told me as they were witnesses to the event (Janke and Guivarra, 2006). I travelled to Darwin to record my respondent’s oral histories of Cyclone Tracy and listened to their connection to the land, which was built through family ties and traditions that date back generations.

Further, I used my radio production software (Cool Edit Pro) on my laptop to edit my interviews with respondents. I have given them an opportunity to listen back through providing copies of interviews if requested. The importance of having proper cultural protocol is paramount; by this I mean having respect for the wishes of the Indigenous people you are working with, as Indigenous peoples are entrusting producers to portray them in an appropriate manner. “As we all know, cultural programming is a very sensitive issue. Certain Codes of ethics and morals need to be observed within the Aboriginal media and these can differ from region to region, from clan to clan” (Edgar in Hartley & McKee, 2000, 175).

I ensured that when I went about conducting my interviews and research with respondents in Darwin and Adelaide I followed my family’s cultural protocol. As a researcher and producer of media this is vital because according to Edgar in (Hartley & McKee, 2000, 175), “The observation of strong kinship rules, and other cultural and moral codes of ethics, identify Indigenous media apart from the mainstream.” Important rules include: a) substituting common names of those recently deceased, b) males not being allowed to mention the name of their mother-in-law, except as a third party, or c) referring to close relatives as ‘uncle’, ‘aunt’ or similar kinship term, while also being professional. “This may seem inappropriate or mushy elsewhere; however in Indigenous media, it helps to strengthen the ties of kinship between the talent and the host and enhances the credibility of media organisation” (ibid.). These cultural guidelines are what Indigenous media workers encounter when working with our own. I ensured I followed these principles when working with my own relatives. It presents the argument of the differences between Indigenous media and mainstream. It would be appropriate to say that Indigenous people would pay more attention to acknowledging the cultural protocol of our people due to the respect we hold for one another. Therefore, it is important for non-Indigenous people to make themselves aware of the appropriate cultural protocol and if in doubt seek guidance from Indigenous people who are trained to give advice in this area.

In addition, remembrance of an event maybe recorded in various forms through photos, music, memory and film. I decided to do a radio documentary because of the connection to Oral History and Indigenous people use their voice as a tool to express themselves as it relates to traditional cultural practices. Many are shy of being filmed and radio can be less intrusive as they are not on camera and can just continue to chat in their natural surroundings.

Recording Indigenous people's recollections of an event like this is important for Australian history and the preservation of the Indigenous voice. As a media maker, I have succeeded in producing a piece that can be used again and that will be added to the continuum of Indigenous culture. I will be giving copies of the documentary and the accompanying exegesis to my respondents so that they can have a copy to listen too and pass onto their family. For researchers working with Indigenous people it is imperative to remember, "When recording Indigenous oral stories and histories make sure that the informer and storyteller is aware that this is being recorded, and what uses are to be made of the recording. Be careful not to broadcast anything that is sacred or sensitive. Written releases and permission should be sought, and recordings should be properly labelled" (Janke and Guivarra, 2006, 25). I ensured I followed this protocol when recording my family's oral histories.

According to Indigenous writer Lester Rigney (1999), "Indigenous Australian's, however, do tend to be more aware and respectful of each other's cultural traditions. Similarly, Indigenous researchers are more accountable, not only to their institutions, but also to their communities. It is certainly politically more appropriate that Indigenous Australians speak through Indigenous researchers" (Rigney, 1999, 118). I support Lester's position and it is significant because as an Indigenous person-conducting research I am contributing to the discipline of media through producing my radio documentary. This has tremendous potential to grow and could be used as a further reference or the stories could be archived. It has already heightened my media skills as a professional freelance producer. In addition, as an Indigenous person, I am contributing to our people having an opportunity to "voice" their oral histories and as Lester Rigney argues, it is more appropriate for Indigenous people to speak through Indigenous researchers. This is my position and why I wanted to produce a documentary from an Indigenous perspective about Cyclone Tracy.

Further, radio as a medium has tremendous potential to educate and could be heard by a wide and diverse audience. Access to technology is growing rapidly thus people can tune in from around the globe via internet radio and download pod casts from media websites. This narrative I will ensure has that opportunity as I can place it on a website, and put it on CD-ROM. Further, "radio's immediacy and speed make it a natural vehicle for the voices of history" (Dunaway, 1984, 80).

The people I have interviewed stayed in their natural surroundings and for the listeners it makes for entertaining radio hearing about history because the respondents recollect their memories vividly and are talented raconteurs. The ability of “radio allows our minds to people history from our own surroundings and to imagine the personalities behind the voices” (Dunaway, 1984, 80). Therefore, this gave me the indication for the need to do this project. A discussion of how it will contribute to the discipline has been addressed and the importance of following correct cultural protocol has been discussed. It is vital even for Indigenous researchers and producers to respect cultural traditions.

Literature to support the argument of Indigenous researchers following correct procedures comes from Irwin, Rogers and Wan (1999). “To understand a culture (as insider or outsider), one needs to immerse oneself in the lifeworld of a culture” (Irwin, Rogers and Wan, 1999, 209). To restate what I said earlier I have a close relationship with all of the respondents that are in my documentary. During the interview and research process, I immersed myself in the culture and life world of Darwin. I was fortunate to have these relationships already established in Darwin & Adelaide. Being from an Indigenous heritage I am from a very close family, I have grown up hearing stories of life and times in Darwin and about the Cyclone. I sent out an information package prior to contacting interviewees and gave them an opportunity to think about my request for an interview. I followed the correct ethical guidelines and procedures. In addition, I understood there may be ethical issues that could come up during my research, such as a respondent not wanting to disclose their identity. This did not occur, but I was prepared to create a pseudonym for any respondent that did not wish to be identified. I was prepared for that challenge, and fully explained my intentions to all my respondents, and appreciated their time. I was also prepared that some respondents may find it difficult to share their experiences and could get emotional during the interviews. Some did, and I paused the interviews and respected they needed time. I let them know at the beginning of the interview if they requested the interview to be terminated, I will do so with respect and give them the time necessary to decide if they want to continue. These are just some of the vital elements to take into consideration when producing programs.

It is important as an Indigenous Australian to understand the magnitude of history and the continuation of it. As a researcher, I was aware of my responsibilities when conducting my interviews and when producing my documentary.

According to Janke & Guivarra, “Many Indigenous stories are only now being heard in mainstream media such as traditional creation stories, cultural information and stories about Indigenous experience such as stories about the stolen generations. Like other peoples, Indigenous people are keen to have their stories heard in an appropriate and non-discriminatory or non-stereotypical manner. And, like other peoples they see media as an important tool for educational purposes and to promote better understanding and to inform people about their circumstances, often with a view to bringing about positive change” (Janke & Guivarra, 2006, 30).

It is vital to ensure Indigenous knowledge’s are treated appropriately. Indigenous Writers Terry Janke and Nancia Guivarra (2006) add, “It is important that Indigenous stories and other cultural knowledge are treated respectfully and ethically with proper acknowledgment of their protocols and practices” (Janke & Guivarra, 2006, 30). Indigenous history needs to be preserved and done so ethically, it will add to literature already existing and this documentary and exegesis will create new and innovative ways of thinking about how history is entered into record.

Chapter Six: Have I solved the problem?

a) Research, technical issues

In this section I will be critical of whether I succeed in setting out what I aspired to do. It is obvious that Indigenous media is a force to be reckoned with. From the amount of literature and programs I have listened too I have learnt a great deal about the struggles faced by Indigenous media workers at both the grassroots level and within the mainstream. Whilst mainstream media workers could use better equipment they are still facing the same funding constraints of those that use amateur equipment within the community. Essentially both are providing much needed voice, access and representation to their people.

In order to rectify this we may need to join high profile media organisations and learn how to play the media game. Nevertheless, it still seems you can't change the media; as it is such a huge part of our lives. As discussed by Michael Mansell in Hartley and McKee (2000), "Mainstream media are there and they're very, very difficult to change. Reflect upon the fact that some of the most powerful people in this country have cried 'bias' against the media when their views have been presented. Such efforts are futile because even with enormous power—a lot more power than we will ever see—they themselves have been able to bring about very little change within mainstream media. It may well be the nature of the beast, that the media just roll on, on the basis of whatever drives it" (Mansell in Hartley & McKee, 2000, 201). Therefore, from this we obviously need to employ new ways to forge our identities through the media and we should not necessarily accept there will always be bias. I certainly won't stand for that. It may well mean we need to work together more with non-Indigenous people within the media. I certainly don't measure getting into the mainstream as the ultimate success. By producing media that reflects Indigenous culture and gets heard by people that is the measure of success for me. I would be satisfied if my documentary changes one person's perception of our culture but I believe it has the potential to do more than that.

Therefore, in order to change things we need to be prepared to work with the media to make changes for ourselves. Mansell states: "There is perhaps a question-mark over whether we should worry about trying to change the media. If we are to get the most out of using mainstream media, it may well be that we have to be like others, and develop new techniques.

We have to build up techniques that enable us to get our message through the media, knowing full well that they will be using us for their own benefit, but at the same time we will be using them to benefit the Aboriginal community wherever it is” (Mansell in Hartley & McKee, 2000, 201).

This statement is valid and I feel it is something that is being employed by SBS and the ABC, which have Indigenous content on their screens and airing on radio. Mainstream public media are giving Indigenous people an opportunity to have a voice but it is to serve their charters and its aligned with them. We need much more airtime on radio and time on television to share our knowledge. The example of *Living Black* in Chapter One just highlights briefly how the mainstream is providing a program niche for Indigenous people to have a say on our issues. Whilst this is rewarding to see it would be even better if the program went for longer but for this to happen more funding would be required. In addition, the media work that is being done in regional and urban areas of Australia is giving Indigenous people an opportunity to be heard within their own communities. Through, the training opportunities that are available it is equipping them with job ready skills that could assist with confidence and further education. Examples of this point come from Brisbane, Broome, and Central Australia all this highlights the incredible work being done by our people in getting our presence out there to the wider population. I feel very passionately about Indigenous oral history being preserved, so that future generations can learn about their culture.

Through using the methodology of (PAR) Participatory Action Research I have been able to constantly reflect on the research process I have undertaken. I have produced two versions of my documentary. By being able to work on a project like this it has equipped me with the skills to work freelance in the media. I’m confident and proficient in organizing media research projects. I feel I have met all my objectives. I enjoyed being able to indulge into a research topic that I love and hope that non-Indigenous people will be educated more about Indigenous oral history and appreciate the qualities it shares to radio production. The uses of media by Indigenous people are varied, but it is quite evident from the discussion about Indigenous media and the literature presented that radio is often the preferred medium for our people to use. It has so many positive elements.

I feel I have come through the process incredibly well and learnt so much. I have experienced being a producer, presenter, interviewer and researcher. The end result is a two part documentary series and accompanying Exegesis.

b) What new insights, solutions and recommendations can I offer?

For Indigenous media to prosper in the future we need to continue the fight. Like previous Aboriginal leaders Charles Perkins and John Newfong, as Indigenous media is where it is today through their political activism of the 1960's bringing to light the social justice issues faced by our people. Their courage and actions in the 1960 set the foundations for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people to fight for a voice within the media and more importantly in society. Therefore, past leaders actions has pathed the way, and we now have a presence of Indigenous Community Radio throughout the country through government programs like BRACS, and independent Indigenous media outlets such as *CAAMA* in Central Australia, *Goolari* Media in Broome, and Warlpiri Media in Central Australia. These outlets provide an essential service to their community in regard to continuing their culture, and assisting with economical sustainability. I recommend for Indigenous people to continue the struggle and not be afraid to stand up for what we believe in. I'm a dedicated program maker and will continue to produce content that I find interesting to educate others. I would like to see more culture awareness training done to non-Indigenous students at the undergraduate level that study journalism so that they can see the ramifications of bias reporting and stereotyping our people. It is up to us as individuals to learn to work with the mainstream media and to share our knowledge about the techniques we employ when interviewing and producing our own content.

In conclusion, I have found the opportunity to do a Masters by Research (Creative) rewarding. It has given me the opportunity to delve into a topic I'm enthusiastic about. I have found I have succeeded in managing to convey a message about Indigenous cultural traditions via the medium of radio. I have investigated and sourced literature from non-Indigenous and Indigenous people to assist in my thinking and forge my stance on this topic. A broad range of literature has been used in order to have a balance of opinion. It is my position that Indigenous media needs to be better recognized and better funded across all forms by the Australian Government.

As it is an essential service to its people and provides timely information to society. I believe my program “*Remembering the Storm*” will contribute to educating others about Indigenous culture.

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