

Submission
to the
Senate Environment, Communications and
the Arts Committee's
Inquiry into the
Effectiveness of the Broadcasting
Codes of Practice

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Dignity and justice for all of us

1 May 2008

About the NSW Council for Civil Liberties

The New South Wales Council for Civil Liberties (CCL) is committed to protecting and promoting civil liberties and human rights in Australia.

CCL is a Non-Government Organisation (NGO) in Special Consultative Status with the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations, by resolution 2006/221 (21 July 2006).

CCL was established in 1963 and is one of Australia's leading human rights and civil liberties organisations. Our aim is to secure the equal rights of everyone in Australia and oppose any abuse or excessive power by the State against its people.

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Abbreviations

ABA	Australian Broadcasting Authority
ABC	Australian Broadcasting Corporation
ACMA	Australian Communications and Media Authority
CCL	New South Wales Council for Civil Liberties
Cth	Commonwealth of Australia
SBS	Special Broadcasting Service

1. Executive Summary

1. The New South Wales Council for Civil Liberties (CCL) is of the view that adults should be free to decide what they will or will not watch on free-to-air commercial television in evening time slots. CCL notes that 90% of Australians surveyed by the Australian Communications and Media Authority (ACMA) in 2007 agree with this view.¹
2. CCL is concerned that this inquiry is yet another attempt to restrict the freedom of expression of ordinary Australians. Not everyone is offended by coarse language. Those who are offended have a choice: they can change the channel or turn their television off. No one is forced to watch any program.
3. Importantly, adults should never be restricted to watching material that is only suitable for children at all times. Banning or excessively restricting the access of adults to television programs is an unnecessary and disproportionate response to the need to keep children away from adult material. It is the responsibility of parents to monitor what their children are watching on television, particularly in the evenings. ACMA reports that 93% of Australians surveyed consider that parents should be able to decide what their children watch.²
4. While Senator Bernardi was offended by the episodes of *Kitchen Nightmare USA* broadcast on Network Nine on 6 March 2008 and 11 March 2008, over one million viewers tuned in to the broadcasts to make the episodes the most-watched programs on Australian television on those evenings. These ratings figures suggest that many Australians, rather than being offended by Mr Ramsay's colourful vocabulary, actually find him entertaining. These viewers presumably disagree with Senator Bernardi's unsupported opinion that the program 'damages...the social structure of Australian life'.
5. The existing statutory and regulatory regime adequately balances the freedom of expression of adults and the need to protect children by providing a system of program classifications, consumer advice text and broadcasting timezones. These devices allow parents (and adults who are easily offended) to plan their television viewing accordingly.
6. CCL can see no objection to the streamlining of the existing broadcasting complaints mechanism, provided that the rules of natural justice continue to apply to all parties. Both complainants and broadcasters should have adequate time to make submissions and replies. The power that broadcasters and ACMA have to dismiss frivolous and vexatious complaints should be sufficient to ensure that any streamlined complaints process is not abused and will not result in longer investigation times.

¹ see [54].

² see [54].

7. CCL notes that this reference to the Senate Environment, Communications and the Arts Committee ('the Committee') was made on the motion of Senator Bernardi, the Shadow Parliamentary Secretary for Families and Community Services.³ That motion was inspired by the Senator's concern about frequent coarse language broadcast on free-to-air commercial television. For this reason, CCL's submission is targeted to address that specific issue, even though the Committee's terms of reference are somewhat broader.
8. Finally, CCL expresses its disappointment that the Senate has seen fit to expend public resources on this inquiry when there are far more important issues facing contemporary Australia. This is especially so when the inquiry is motivated by a desire to restrict, rather than protect, freedom of speech.

³ Commonwealth, *Parliamentary Debates*, Senate, 20 March 2008, 1371.

2. Submissions

Terms of Reference of this Inquiry

An examination into the effectiveness of the broadcasting codes of practice operating within the radio and television industry, with particular reference to:

- a. the frequency and use of coarse and foul language (swearing) in programs;
- b. the effectiveness of the current classification standards as an accurate reflection of the content contained in the program;
- c. the operation and effectiveness of the complaints process currently available to members of the public; and
- d. any other related matters.

2.1 frequency and use of swearing on television

9. Senator Bernardi's concerns about swearing on television are directed at Network Nine's reality television program *Ramsay's Kitchen Nightmare*. The episode to which the Senator refers as including the word 'fuck' more than 80 times was broadcast at 8:30pm on Tuesday, 11 March 2008.⁴ Judging from the chronology given by the Senator, the offending program in which the word 'cunt' was used was broadcast at 9:30pm on Thursday, 6 March 2008.
10. According to Network Nine media releases based on data collected by OzTAM, *Kitchen Nightmares USA* was the most watched show on the East Coast on the evenings of 6 March 2008 and 11 March 2008.⁵ Both episodes were the top rating programs on their respective evenings in Sydney, Melbourne and Adelaide (Senator Bernardi's State capital). In fact the "5 City Metropolitan" aggregate ratings show that 810,000 metropolitan viewers watched the 6 March episode, while 738,000 watched the 11 March episode.⁶
11. The total national audience for *Kitchen Nightmares USA* on 11 March 2008 was 1.16 million.⁷ The following Thursday, 13 March 2008, 1.52 million Australians tuned in to watch *Kitchen Nightmares* (UK) on Network Nine.⁸

⁴ Holly Ife, 'TV Chef Gordon Ramsay says f*** 80 times during show', news.com (18 March 2008), <<http://www.news.com.au/entertainment/printstory/0,25585,23387696-10388,00.html>>.

⁵ Nine Network, *Daily Ratings Report (6 March 2008)*, <http://www.ebroadcast.com.au/e-news/uploads/1/Ratings_for_Thursday_March_6_2008.pdf>; Nine Network, *Daily Ratings Report (11 March 2008)*, <http://www.ebroadcast.com.au/e-news/uploads/1/Daily_Ratings_Report_-_Tuesday_March_11.pdf>.

⁶ "5 City Metropolitan" consists of figures for Sydney, Melbourne, Brisbane, Adelaide & Perth.

⁷ Nine Network, "Ratings Report – survey week 11" (17 March 2008) eNews, <<http://www.ebroadcast.com.au/enews/nine/Ratings-Report---Survey-Week-11---Sunday-March-9-to-Saturday-March-15-2008-170308.html>>.

⁸ "Who We Are: Week 11", *Sun Herald* (Sydney), <http://blogs.sunherald.com.au/whoweare/archives/2008/03/most_watched_pr.html>.

12. CCL observes that, while Senator Bernardi might be concerned about the language used in Mr Ramsay's program and on television generally, well over one million Australians disagree with the Honourable Senator from South Australia. This suggests that the existing codes of practice are perfectly adequate when it comes to regulating the frequency and use of swearing on commercial free-to-air television.
13. The swearing of Mr Ramsay should be distinguished from the swearing on some other reality TV programs. In 2005 there was quite a lot of controversy over the broadcast of coarse language in the reality program *Big Brother Uncut*. ACMA found the coarse language unsuitable for broadcast because it was demeaning to women, fetishistic and spoken in a highly sexual context.⁹ None of those accusations can be laid against Mr Ramsay's program. Mr Ramsay's swearing is reportedly of a more utilitarian and contextual nature; verbally expressing his frustration, surprise, indignation etc in the kitchen.

2.2 effectiveness of classification standards

14. In the 11 March episode of *Nightmare Kitchen USA*, the star of the show reportedly used the word 'fuck' over 80 times in 40 minutes. In accordance with the law, the M-rated episode was broadcast in an 8:30pm timeslot.¹⁰
15. The commercial free-to-air broadcasting code of practice permits frequent coarse language in M-rated programs 'when it is particularly important to the story line or program context'. The chief classification officer of the Nine Network, Mr Richard Lyle, defended this episode on the grounds that:¹¹

Gordon Ramsay often does not use (the F-word) as swearing necessarily, just as another word, and sometimes even as praise. The tension in kitchens just brings out the worst language.
16. It is not clear what the consumer advice text for this episode was, but "frequent coarse language" would have been sufficient and is covered by the relevant code of practice.
17. The 6 March episode of *Nightmare Kitchen USA*, in which the host reportedly used the word 'cunt' several times, was rated MA and was broadcast in a 9:30pm timeslot, as the law requires.
18. The commercial code of practice permits infrequent 'very coarse language'. Perhaps the appropriate consumer advice text for this episode would have been "infrequent very coarse language", which still falls within the code.
19. Consumer advice text for coarse language permits advice ranging up to 'frequent very coarse language'. The episodes involved do not appear to have exceeded this range. Given these facts, CCL believes that the classification standards and decisions are adequate to cover the circumstances about which Senator Bernardi complains.

⁹ ACMA, *Big Brother Uncut* (October 2005) 1557/05, 1558/05 & 1559/07.

¹⁰ see [38].

¹¹ Holly Ife, 'TV Chef Gordon Ramsay says f*** 80 times during show' (18 March 2008), n 4.

20. Any attempt to codify what is or is not acceptable language in any given timeslot is doomed to failure. Community standards change over time and such codification will soon be out-of-date. New words will enter the English language and will need to be integrated into the relevant code of practice. The existing codes are flexible enough to accommodate changing community standards and new vocabularies. On the other hand, codification will swiftly render the codes of practice irrelevant or a mockery.
21. Finally, the television ratings for these episodes suggests that the classification and content of *Nightmare Kitchen USA* are well within acceptable community standards for their timezones. As such, the case for changing existing standards has not been made out. The most that can be said is that, perhaps, broadcasters should be more attentive to the adjectives they use in their consumer advice text.

2.3 operation and effectiveness of the complaints mechanism

22. In its 2007 report on reality television, ACMA examined criticism that the complaint handling process was too slow: that it gave the commercial networks too much time to respond to a complaint; and, that it could be up to two months before ACMA could be asked to investigate.¹² ACMA concluded that the criticism was unfounded, but also recommended that the process could be streamlined by allowing viewers to lodge their complaints electronically.¹³ This suggestion seems sensible, provided that a guided online complaint form gathers all of the relevant information at the time of the complaint. If it does not, then complainants will become frustrated with the process when they are asked for more information.
23. Approximately 85% of all investigations by ACMA are settled within four months of receipt of the complaint or extra information.¹⁴ This is not as long as Senator Bernardi's adjournment speech would suggest.
24. If changes are made to the complaints procedure, it is of course important to ensure that the rules of natural justice are not compromised. Both complainants and broadcasters should be given adequate time to make submissions and replies. This might be frustrating to complainants, but it is a necessary requirement of the rule of law.
25. CCL notes that, in 2000, the Senate Select Committee on Information Technologies recommended that the time limit before a complaint can be directed to ACMA should be decreased from 60 to 30 days.¹⁵ That recommendation was endorsed by the ABA (ACMA's predecessor).¹⁶

¹² ACMA, *Reality Television Review: Volume One* (March 2007), IFC 2007, <http://www.acma.gov.au/WEB/STANDARD/pc=PC_310698>.

¹³ ACMA, *Reality Television Review* (March 2007), n 12, Recommendation 2.

¹⁴ see [49]-[50].

¹⁵ Senate Select Committee on Information Technologies, *In the Public Interest: Monitoring Australia's Media* (April 2000), Recommendation 5,

2.4 any other related matters

26. CCL is concerned that this inquiry might be used as an excuse to prohibit or restrict the broadcast of programs which some people in the community might find offensive. CCL reminds the Senate that freedom of expression is an important civil right in a free and democratic society and it should not be restricted lightly.
27. Of course, freedom of speech is not absolute. The *International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights* (ICCPR) permits laws that restrict speech, where necessary, to protect *inter alia* public order and morals.¹⁷ However, this power to restrict freedom of speech:¹⁸
- ...must not be interpreted as license to prohibit unpopular speech, or speech which some sections of the population find offensive. ...The Covenant therefore stipulates that the purpose of protecting [the rights and reputations of others, national security, public order, public health or morals] is not, of itself, sufficient reason to restrict expression. The restriction must be necessary to protect the given value. This requirement of necessity implies an element of proportionality. The scope of the restriction imposed on freedom of expression must be proportional to the value which the restriction serves to protect. It must not exceed that needed to protect that value.
28. The Senate should resist any proposals to further restrict what adults can see on free-to-air commercial television. The provision of broadcasting timezones, consumer advice text and the ability of consumers to turn off their televisions means that children (and those who are offended by coarse language) do not need to watch the offending material. In other words, further restriction is unnecessary and would be a disproportionate response to the concerns of those who find coarse language offensive.
29. Adults should never be restricted to watching material that is only suitable for children. Banning or excessively restricting the access of adults to television programs is an unnecessary and disproportionate response to the need to protect children from adult material. While children might be protected by prohibition and excessive restriction, they will grow up to become adults in a world where they will find that their freedom to express themselves is limited and in which they are still treated like children.

<http://www.aph.gov.au/Senate/committee/it_ctte/completed_inquiries/1999-02/selfreg/report/contents.htm>.

¹⁶ Senate Select Committee on IT, *In the Public Interest* (2000) n 15, [3.50].

¹⁷ Article 19 of the *International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights* [1980] ATS 23 (entry into force: 13 November 1980).

¹⁸ *Faurisson v France* (1996) UN Doc CCPR/C/58/D/550/1993 (Mrs Evatt, Messrs Kretzmer & Klein), 8. See also, *Gauthier v Canada* (2003), UN Doc. CCPR/C/78/D/941/2000, [13.6]: the operation and application of laws that restrict freedom of speech must be 'necessary and proportionate to the goal in question and not arbitrary'.

3. Background

3.1 Senator Bernardi's adjournment speech

30. A few days before the Senate established this inquiry, Senator Bernardi delivered an adjournment speech on 'Obscene Language on Television'.¹⁹ During the speech, Senator Bernardi twice reassures the Senate that he is 'not a wowser'. But he says 'enough is enough' when the popular Network Nine television personality Gordon Ramsay uses the word 'cunt' a few times in a program after 9:30pm, and the word 'fuck' on average once every thirty seconds in a program in an 8:30pm time slot.²⁰ The Senator also notes that such words are used in popular television shows such as *Sex and the City* (Network Nine), *The Sopranos* (Network Nine) and *Big Brother Uncut* (Network Ten).
31. In essence, Senator Bernardi's charge against such coarse language is that:
- ...it is gratuitous or unnecessary and actually damages what I think is the social structure of Australian life.

The Senator believes that the content of television broadcasts 'has a profound impact on how we conduct ourselves' and that there has been an 'incremental creep of bad language into our society'. The Senator appears to be blaming the commercial television networks for this. The Senator provides no evidence to support any of his opinions.

32. Senator Bernardi expressly limits his comments to free-to-air commercial broadcasters.²¹ The Senator suggests that Parliament needs to determine whether these free-to-air commercial broadcasters 'are going to be a licence unto themselves in what they broadcast'.
33. Senator Bernardi's main complaint is that it takes too long for ACMA to investigate a complaint that a broadcaster has breached their broadcasting code of practice. Senator Bernardi tells the Senate that it can take up to nine months after the original broadcast for ACMA to finalise a complaint: a complaint must be made to the broadcaster within 30 days of the offending broadcast, then a broadcaster has 60 days to reply before the complainant has a right to complain to ACMA, and then ACMA is (according to the Senator) taking up to six months to investigate and report.
34. In his speech Senator Bernardi assumes that such bad language is contrary to the commercial television broadcasters' code of practice, and that if ACMA's complaints procedure were streamlined then this incremental creep of bad language could be halted and reversed.

¹⁹ Commonwealth, *Parliamentary Debates*, Senate, 18 March 2008, 1196-8.

²⁰ see also: Holly Ife, 'TV Chef Gordon Ramsay says f*** 80 times during show' (18 March 2008), n 4.

²¹ Commonwealth, *Parliamentary Debates*, Senate, 18 March 2008, 1198 (Senator Bernardi refers to them as 'public' broadcasters).

3.2 Broadcasting Codes of Practice

35. The *Broadcasting Services Act 1992* (Cth) ('the Broadcasting Act') provides that industry groups representing commercial, community and subscription radio and television broadcasters and narrowcasters should develop their own codes of practice in consultation with ACMA.²²
36. The ABC and SBS also have broadcasting codes of practice, which are developed by their Boards.²³
37. ACMA keeps a Register of these codes of practice²⁴ and is also responsible for monitoring them.²⁵ ACMA also deals with unresolved complaints from individuals about breaches of these codes.²⁶ ACMA need not investigate a complaint that is frivolous or vexatious or was not made in good faith.²⁷ ACMA must inform the complainant of the outcome of any investigation.
38. Section 123 of the Broadcasting Act provides considerable legislative guidance to the formation of these broadcasting codes.²⁸ In particular, section 123 mandates that:
 - the codes take into account community attitudes to violence, sex, nudity, offensive language, drugs, and hatred and vilification: s.123(3)
 - television programs classified M can only be broadcast between 8:30pm and 5am, and noon and 3pm on school days: s.123(3A)(c)
 - television programs classified MA15+ can only be broadcast between 9pm and 5am: s.123(3A)(d)
 - advice is provided to consumers about why a television program has been given a particular classification: s.123(3A)(e)
 - films classified M or MA15+ do not contain material that "goes beyond the previous 'AO' classification criteria: s.123(3B).

²² *Broadcasting Services Act 1992* (Cth) s.123.

²³ *Australian Broadcasting Corporation Act 1983* (Cth) s.8(1)(e); *Special Broadcasting Service Act 1991* (Cth) s.10(1)(j).

²⁴ *Broadcasting Services Act 1992* (Cth) s.124. The Register is publicly available at: <http://www.acma.gov.au/WEB/STANDARD/pc=IND_REG_CODES_BCAST>.

²⁵ *Broadcasting Services Act 1992* (Cth) s.123A.

²⁶ *Broadcasting Services Act 1992* (Cth) s.148.

²⁷ *Broadcasting Services Act 1992* (Cth) s.149.

²⁸ *Broadcasting Services Act 1992* (Cth) s.123(2). These provisions do not apply to the ABC or SBS.

39. It should also be noted that pursuant to Schedule 2 of the Broadcasting Act, commercial, community and subscription television broadcasters (and narrowcasters) cannot broadcast programs refused classification or classified X18+. ²⁹ Free-to-air television broadcasters (and narrowcasters) cannot broadcast programs classified R18+, unless the programs have been modified to ensure they meet the previous 'AO' classification. ³⁰ Subscription television broadcasters can only broadcast programs classified R18+ if they provide to consumers an ACMA-approved restriction device. ³¹ Subscription television narrowcasters can broadcast R18+ programs unconditionally.
40. The SBS code of practice considers as unsuitable for television all material refused classification, classified R18+ or X18+. ³² The ABC code of practice does not expressly mention material refused classification, classified R18+ or X18+.

3.3 Commercial Television Industry

3.3.1 The Code of Practice

41. Free-TV is the industry group representing commercial television broadcasters. Free-TV has prepared, in association with ACMA, the industry's broadcasting code of practice ('the commercial code'). ³³
42. In relation to coarse language, the commercial code states that 'very coarse language that is aggressive and very frequent' is unsuitable for broadcast. ³⁴
43. In relation to consumer advice text, the commercial code makes provision for advice ranging from 'mild coarse language' through to 'frequent very coarse language'.
44. Programs classified M can only be broadcast after 8:30pm. ³⁵ The guidelines for the language element in the M classification of the commercial code state that:

The use of coarse language must be appropriate to the storyline or program context, infrequent and must not be very aggressive. It may be used more than infrequently only in certain justifiable circumstances when it is particularly important to the story line or program context.

²⁹ *Broadcasting Services Act 1992* (Cth) Sch 2, cl.7(1)(g) (commercial), cl.9(1)(g) (community), cl.10(1)(f) (subscription), cl.11(3)(a) (open narrowcast) & cl.11(4) (subscription narrowcast).

³⁰ *Broadcasting Services Act 1992* (Cth) Sch 2, cl.7(1)(ga) (commercial), cl.9(1)(ga) (community) & cl.11(3)(b).

³¹ *Broadcasting Services Act 1992* (Cth) Sch 2, cl.10(1)(g).

³² SBS, *Codes of Practice* (2006) [4.5],

<<http://www20.sbs.com.au/sbscorporate/index.php?id=1065>>.

³³ FreeTV, *Commercial Television Industry Code of Practice* (July 2004)

<http://www.acma.gov.au/webwr/aba/contentreg/codes/television/documents/comm_tv_industry_cop-060907.pdf>.

³⁴ FreeTV, *Commercial Code* (2004), n 33, [2.17.3].

³⁵ FreeTV, *Commercial Code* (2004), n 33, Appendix 4, [2.10]. On school days, M programs can be broadcast between noon and 3pm.

45. Programs classified MA can only be broadcast after 9:00pm.³⁶ Programs classified AV (adult violence) can only be broadcast after 9:30pm.³⁷ The guidelines for the language element in the MA and AV classifications of the commercial code state that:³⁸

The use of very coarse language must be appropriate to the story line or program context and not overly frequent or impactful.

3.3.2 The Complaints Procedure

46. Section 7 of the commercial code sets out the procedure for complaints of breaches of the code.
47. Broadcasters are obliged to respond promptly to, and 'make every reasonable effort to resolve', written complaints made within 30 days of the offending broadcast. Broadcasters should make a written reply within 30 days of receiving the complaint. The reply must advise the complainant of their right to refer the matter to ACMA, if they are still not satisfied.
48. Broadcasters are not required to respond promptly to complaints that are 'clearly frivolous, vexatious or an abuse of the Code process'.
49. In 2006-2007, ACMA reported that 85% of complaints were completed within the timeframe of 4 months of receipt of the complaint or further information.³⁹ After investigation, ACMA determined that a total of 68 complaints (radio and television) did not disclose a breach of the relevant codes of practice, while 32 complaints were upheld. Only 11 of these 32 breaches related to commercial free-to-air television. Of those, 4 were breaches of complaint handling process (all by the Nine Network) and none related to inappropriate language.⁴⁰ While 9 complaints about coarse language were investigated, none were found to be breaches. The only breach for language was by Foxtel (pay-TV) for a program called *How to be a Property Developer*. ACMA found the PG classification unsuitable for the level of coarse language.
50. In the previous reporting year, 86% of complaints were completed within 4 month timeframe.⁴¹ ACMA determined that a total of 84 complaints (radio and television) did not disclose any breaches of the relevant codes of practice, while 18 complaints were upheld. Only 4 complaints for language were upheld: for inappropriate language in a G-rated promo of *The OC* program in Western Australia; and 3 breaches for Network Ten's nationally-broadcast *Big Brother Uncut*.

³⁶ FreeTV, Commercial Code (2004), n 33, Appendix 4, [2.11].

³⁷ FreeTV, Commercial Code (2004), n 33, Appendix 4, [2.12].

³⁸ FreeTV, Commercial Code (2004), n 33, Appendix 4, [5.3] & [6.3].

³⁹ ACMA, *Annual Report 2006-2007* (2007), 36 (Table 20).

⁴⁰ ACMA noted that the Nine Network had committed to improving its complaint handling process by employing designated complaint officers.

⁴¹ ACMA, *Annual Report 2005-2006* (2006), 21 (Table 11).

3.4 community attitudes to swearing on television

51. ACMA's 2007 report on families and media revealed that 45% of Australian parents set content rules for their children's viewing.⁴² Of those households with content rules, only 3% of parents stopped children from watching programs with 'bad language'. In terms of program content, the research found that today's parents are far more concerned about violence, sex/kissing/nudity, M and MA15+ programs, 'programs like *The Simpsons* or *Family Guy* and reality television.
52. This should be contrasted with attitudes in 1995, when 34% of parents set down content rules for television viewing based on the concern that their children would 'pick up bad habits, language or ideas'.⁴³
53. This research suggests that attitudes towards 'bad language' on television have changed over the last 12 years. The research does not offer any reason for this change in community attitudes.

3.5 ACMA's Reality Television Report (2007)

54. In 2007, at the direction of the then Communications Minister Senator Coonan, ACMA undertook a review of reality television in Australia.⁴⁴ ACMA surveyed television viewers from across Australia and found that:⁴⁵
 - 90% consider that they should be able to decide what they watch on commercial free-to-air television;
 - 93.5% consider parents should be able to decide what their children watch;
 - viewers are very aware of classification symbols (96.8%), consumer advice (94%) and timezone restrictions (88%);
 - 78% reported that they had seen no content of concern on commercial free-to-air television in the last 12 months.
55. The ACMA report also found significant concern among viewers that reality television exploits its participants (54%) and encourages inappropriate attitudes to women (46%).⁴⁶ As a consequence, ACMA recommended that the code of practice for the commercial free-to-air television industry should be amended to prohibit the broadcast of material presenting participants in reality television programs in a highly demeaning or exploitative manner.⁴⁷

⁴² ACMA, *Media and Communications in Australian Families 2007* (December 2007), 117, <http://www.acma.gov.au/webwr/assets/main/lib101058/media_and_society_report_2007.pdf>.

⁴³ Australian Broadcasting Authority, *Families and Electronic Entertainment* (1996), Monograph 6, 49, <<http://www.acma.gov.au/webwr/assets/main/lib100068/monograph%206.pdf>>.

⁴⁴ ACMA, *Reality Television Review* (2007), n 12.

⁴⁵ ACMA, *Reality Television Review* (2007), n 12, 2.

⁴⁶ ACMA, *Reality Television Review* (2007), n 12, 2.

⁴⁷ ACMA, *Reality Television Review* (2007), n 12, Recommendation 1.