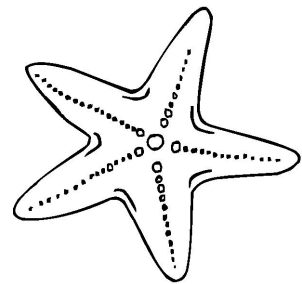


Understanding and countering the influence of cyber racism on Australian world views



Karen Connelly

Bachelor of Arts (Honours)

(Anthropology)

Submitted in fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

University of Technology Sydney

3 July 2019

CERTIFICATE OF ORIGINAL AUTHORSHIP

I, Karen Connelly, declare that this thesis is submitted in fulfillment of the requirements for the award of Doctor of Philosophy in the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences at the University of Technology Sydney. This thesis is wholly my own work unless otherwise referenced or acknowledged. In addition, I certify that all information sources and literature used are indicated in the thesis. This document has not been submitted for qualifications at any other academic institution. This research is supported by an Australian Government Research Training Program.

Signature:

Date: 3 July 2019

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am grateful to my primary supervisor Emeritus Professor Andrew Jakubowicz (University of Technology Sydney) and co supervisor Professor Yin Paradies (Deakin University Melbourne) for giving me the opportunity to be a part of the Australian Cyber Racism and Community Resilience Project. Both have been extremely generous with their time and knowledge and have taught me a great deal. I have appreciated Andrew's endless patience and vast experience and Yin's pertinent advice and support. I would also like to thank Christina Ho as my alternate supervisor and stand in supervisors, Dr Jacqueline Nelson and Adjunct Professor Hilary Yerbury (when both Andrew and Yin were on leave) for their assistance and differing perspectives. I am fortunate to have had the opportunity to work with the other Cyber Racism and Community Resilience project team members across disciplines and universities. I would like to thank them, particularly Dr Ana-Maria Bliuc, for their collaborative and collegial sharing of knowledge. Dr Andre Oboler of partner civil society organisation, the Online Hate Prevention Institute has also been a generous and supportive collaborator. The research participants, even those I could not identify were vital to my research. I highly respect the work of those who are trying to make a difference. I also acknowledge the editorial assistance of Dr Terry Fitzgerald. There have been many other people along the way, including past lecturers, friends and family members who have inspired me and given me support and advice. In particular, this thesis is dedicated to my four amazing children who despite their own challenges have given me the unconditional love and support I needed to complete this journey.

STATEMENT OF FORMAT

This is a ‘thesis by compilation’, described by the University of Technology Sydney Thesis Guidelines as “a single manuscript that comprises a combination of chapters and published/publishable works” (p.17). The published works include 2 published book chapters and a published journal article, which are incorporated into the thesis chapters. The book chapters are based on collaborations (50 percent my work) with another project team member and a civil society organisation, that while not specifically attempting to answer my research questions, complement the overall arguments in the thesis. The journal article is based on one of the case studies undertaken and is one hundred percent my work.

LIST OF INCLUDED PUBLICATIONS

Connelly, K. (2016). Undermining Cosmopolitanism: Cyber-Racism Narratives in Australia. *Sites*, 13(1), 156–176.

Racist Narratives Online in Jakubowicz, A., Dunn, K., Paradies, Y., Mason, G., Bliuc, A.-M., Bahfen, N., Oboler, A., Atie, R., Connelly, K. (2017). *Cyber Racism and Community Resilience*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Building Online Communities of Resistance and Solidarity in Jakubowicz, A., Dunn, K., Paradies, Y., Mason, G., Bliuc, A.-M., Bahfen, N., Oboler, A., Atie, R., Connelly, K. (2017). *Cyber Racism and Community Resilience*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

* Please see Appendix One for permissions

PREFACE

I was inspired to write this preface after hearing a presentation on the demise of standpoint theory (Paradies, 2018). The aim of standpoint theory was broadly to acknowledge and call for a variety of points of view (other than those in a position of power, usually white males) in the construction of knowledge or ‘truth’. However, Paradies (2018) argues that in this post-truth digital era, where truth is now marketed based on emotional affect rather than facts, “we are experiencing a re-invention of societal knowledge itself” (p.5). With so many points of view now circulating in the digital space, Paradies (2018) suggests that standpoint theory is now less important than our ability to understand different perspectives and to move outside the academy and connect with those engaged in social activism.

These observations are particularly relevant to my study for a number of reasons:

Firstly, it is obvious that the influence of the digital cannot be denied so understanding how it operates is essential to the continued construction of knowledge or truth based on facts. My own knowledge of the digital world is grounded in past experience as a computer programmer. In the course of my subsequent studies (in the social sciences) I was drawn to digitally produced data and its uses. My honours thesis focused on activism through dissent in Fijian political blogs, leading me to an understanding about the use of social media for putting forward alternative points of view.

Secondly, while standpoint theory may be less important, it is not irrelevant. My own standpoint is important insofar as it has influenced the perspective I have taken. As a privileged white woman I have had only limited experience of racism prior to this research. Like many Australians I have a mixed heritage, including Italian and New Zealander. I also have Chinese relatives and have heard familial stories about racist incidents. These stories seemed out of place in what I believed to be a successful multicultural and egalitarian country like Australia and I was interested to understand this contradiction.

As an anthropologist I am also fascinated by culture and the way our worldviews are shaped by our different life experiences. I have come to appreciate that cultures and cultural practices make sense in the context that they evolve and that all should be regarded as equally valid. However, racism challenges that premise. It became clear through my studies that the reality is that in western multicultural societies some cultures and cultural practices are judged against a supposedly superior western culture. Through this research I have the opportunity to expose this judgement and the injustices that it creates.

Finally, Paradies (2018) observations on social activism overlap somewhat with my own desire to ‘make a difference’. My children and I laugh that this desire is born out of an overactive empathy gene. I find it difficult to disregard emotional pain and suffering in others caused by injustice. My own varied life experiences mean that I have experienced injustice and discrimination in relation to gender, age, mental ill health and disability among other things and I am therefore able to empathise with the emotional impact of these and other

injustices. I am also acutely aware of the role the Internet plays in amplifying all injustices.

As Paradies (2018) alludes to, the best way to ameliorate injustice is to firstly expose it and then assist in facilitating evidence based change. The project that this research is a part of provided opportunities to not only assist in knowledge production related to cyber racism but to join with government departments and civil society organisations in the promotion of resilience against racism. These opportunities have allowed me to make my own small contribution to exposing injustice and facilitating change.

AUSTRALIAN ABORIGINAL AND TORRES STRAIT ISLANDER ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I would like to acknowledge the Australian Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples as the traditional custodians of the lands on which my research was conducted. I pay my respects to ancestors and Elders, past and present. I am committed to honouring Australian Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples' unique cultural and spiritual relationships to the land, waters and seas and their rich contribution to society.

Early in my research I asked one of my research participants why he continued to work against injustice despite the lack of respect shown to his people and he told me this story, which still resonates with me today:



The Starfish Story

An old man was walking along the beach one morning after a storm.

In the distance he could see someone moving like a dancer.

As he came closer he saw that it was a young woman picking up starfish and throwing them into the ocean.

“Young lady, why are you throwing starfish into the ocean?” the old man asked.

“The sun is up and the tide is out, and if I do not throw them in they will die” she said.

“But young lady, do you not realize there are miles of beach and thousands of starfish? You cannot possibly make a difference”.

The young woman listened politely, then bent down, picked up another starfish and threw it into the sea.

“It made a difference to that one”.

Adapted from the original by Loren Eiseley

CONTENTS

ABSTRACT	4
CHAPTER ONE INTRODUCTION	6
1.1. The Cyber Racism Phenomenon	6
1.2. The Cyber racism and Community Resilience Project	7
1.3. Anthropology, Culture and Racism	10
1.4. Nations, National Identity and Worldviews	13
1.5. Multiculturalism in Australia	15
1.6. The Potential of Cyberspace	19
1.7. Research Description	20
1.8. Thesis Outline	22
1.9. Conclusion	26
CHAPTER TWO UNDERSTANDING CYBER RACISM AND COMMUNITY RESILIENCE IN AUSTRALIA	29
2.1. From Old Racisms to New Racisms	31
2.1.1. Denial, Cultural Privilege, and New Racisms	32
2.2. International Cyber Racism	39
2.2.1. Exploiting the Internet and Reproducing Everyday Racism	41
2.2.2. Facilitating Cyber Racism on Social Media	43
2.3. The Consequences of Everyday Racism and Cyber Racism	46
2.3.1. The Health and Other Consequences of Everyday Racism	46
2.3.2. The Impacts of Cyber-Racism	49
2.4. Anti-racism in Australia and Cyber Anti-racism	50
2.4.1. Responses to Everyday Racism	52
2.4.2. Cyber Anti-Racism	57
2.5. Community Resilience	62
2.5.1. Community Resilience and Racism	63
2.5.2. Cyber Community Resilience to Racism	66
2.6. Conclusion	67
CHAPTER THREE THE NARRATIVE APPROACH	71
3.1. Anthropological Methods in Social Media Research	71
3.2. Limitations of Long-Term Ethnography	72
3.3. Justifying a Narrative Approach	76
3.4. Case Selection	79
3.5. Study Design	82
3.6. Data Collection and Analysis	83
3.7. Conclusion	84
CHAPTER FOUR ONLINE RACIST NARRATIVES	86
4.1. Introduction	86
4.2. The Australian National Identity Narrative	88
4.3. Fantasising Australian Identity Narratives on Social Media	92
4.4. National Identity Narrative Construction and Cyber Racism	95
4.5. Categorising Racist Discourse in Cyber Racism Narratives	96
4.5.1. The Use of Identity Rhetoric to Target Minority Groups	98
4.6. Building Cyber Racist Communities	100
4.6.1. Developing Sophisticated Ideological Arguments	102
4.6.2. Moral Disengagement Strategies	106
4.6.3. Racial Microaggression and Hidden Harmful Effects	111
4.7. Conclusion	113

CHAPTER FIVE CASE STUDY ONE FACEBOOK: A NARRATIVE OF CULTURAL EXCLUSION	116
5.1. Introduction	116
5.2. Article Abstract	117
5.3. Background	117
5.4. Methods	121
5.5. Results	123
5.5.1. The Australian way of life	123
5.5.2. Inclusion Based on Desirable Cultural Values	124
5.5.3. Exclusion Based on Undesirable Cultural Values	126
5.6. Discussion	130
5.7. Conclusion	135
 CHAPTER SIX CASE STUDY TWO TWITTER: A NARRATIVE OF DENIAL AND DISEMPOWERMENT	 137
6.1. Introduction	137
6.2. Background	139
6.2.1. Twitter Narratives and Cultural Context	139
6.2.2. Racism, Australian sport and Adam Goodes	141
6.3. Case Study Methods	142
6.4. Results	143
6.4.1. The Narrative of Denial	146
6.4.2. Denial of White and Male Privilege	147
6.5. Discussion	149
6.6. Conclusion	152
 CHAPTER SEVEN BUILDING ONLINE COMMUNITIES OF RESISTANCE AND SOLIDARITY	 154
7.1. Introduction	154
7.2. Online Communities	157
7.3. Types of Online Communities Tackling Racism	159
Table 7.1 Types of communities tackling online racism	160
7.3.1. The Community Builders	161
7.4. Community Strategies for Resistance and Solidarity	164
7.4.1. Sources and Amplifiers	167
7.5. Case Study: The Online Hate Prevention Institute	168
7.5.1. Sourcing Hate Content from Their Online Community	170
7.5.2. The FightAgainstHate.com reporting tool	171
7.5.3. The Unity in Diversity on Australia Day Campaign	173
7.5.4. The Spotlight on Anti-Muslim Internet Hate Campaign	174
7.5.5. OHPI Data: Feeding into Research and Policy	176
7.5.6. The CSI-CHAT Analysis Tool	178
7.6. Case Study: IndigenousX	179
7.6.1. The IndigenousX Community	181
7.6.2. Australia Day, the National Apology Day and Mabo Day	182
7.6.3. Indigenous Health	184
7.6.4. Direct Racism	185
7.6.5. Cultural Revival	185
7.6.6. Resistance, Solidarity and Community Resilience	187
7.7. Additional Approaches	188
7.7.1. An Unaffiliated Civil Society Group	188
7.7.2. A Government Agency	190
7.7.3. A Peak Body for Impacted Communities	193
7.8. Conclusion	195

CHAPTER EIGHT CASE STUDY THREE FACEBOOK: A NARRATIVE OF WELCOME AND INCLUSION	200
8.1. Introduction	200
8.2. Background	202
8.2.1. Facebook and the Enabling of Racist Narratives	203
8.2.2. Responding to Cyber Racism in Asylum Seeker, Refugee, Migrant and Muslim communities	205
8.3. Research Methods	207
8.4. Results	207
8.5. Discussion	214
8.6. Conclusion	219
CHAPTER NINE CASE STUDY FOUR TWITTER: A NARRATIVE OF HOPE	220
9.1. Introduction	220
9.2. Background	222
9.3. Methods	227
9.4. Results	227
9.4.1. Building the IndigenousX Counter Narrative	227
9.5. Discussion	229
9.6. Conclusion	235
CHAPTER TEN CONCLUSION	237
10.1. Introduction	237
10.2. Reproducing Cultural Exclusion and Denial Narratives on Social Media	238
10.3. Undermining a Culturally Inclusive Worldview	241
10.4. Challenging Cultural Exclusion Narratives on Social Media	246
10.5. Building Cyber Community Resilience Against Racism	250
10.6. Limitations and Opportunities for Further study	254
10.7. Implications of the findings	256
10.7.1. Novel Anthropological Methodology	258
10.7.2. Contribution to Anthropological Theory	259
10.7.3. Wider understandings about Multiculturalism in Australia	260
10.7.4. Cyber racism and the normalization of everyday racism	261
10.7.5. Wider understandings about cyber anti-racism and community resilience	263
10.7.6. Civil society and Collaboration	264
10.8. Concluding Remarks	266
APPENDIX ONE	268
REFERENCES	269
LIST OF TABLES AND FIGURES	
Figure 2.1 Cyber racism review summary	37
Table 7.1 Types of communities tackling online racism	156
Table 7.2 Stakeholder Reactive Strategies	161
Table 7.3 Stakeholder Proactive strategies	162
Figure 10.1 The connection between Cyber Racism, Cyber anti-racism and Community resilience	252
Figure 10.2 The OHPI SMARTER approach to cyber racism	258

ABSTRACT

In an age when the Internet allows the proliferation of race hate and vilification with increasing speed and impact, liberal democratic societies need to understand the implications of this trend and curb its influence. However, research in this field is only beginning to develop, with work in Australia so far primarily focused on everyday racism and anti-racism. The Australian Cyber Racism and Community Resilience (CRaCR) Project, to which I was attached to as the higher degree research student, is the first in Australia to make these areas a major focus of research. The CRaCR project explores the phenomenon of cyber racism, drawing on a range of social science perspectives. This thesis adds an important and unique anthropological perspective, which examines how the greater proliferation of racism on social media impacts on the worldviews of Internet users. Given the cultural diversity in multicultural nations such as Australia, countering cyber racism through the promotion of community resilience demands a sophisticated insight into how more tolerant and cosmopolitan worldviews may be corroded or, alternatively reinforced and cultivated.

Four case studies were conducted on Facebook and Twitter over varying periods. A narrative approach and the anthropological perspective allowed the development of an understanding of the worldviews of the authors in the context of cultural exclusion in Australia. The value of a narrative approach is in the way it enables analysis that draws out the underlying meaning in the social media posts and its potential influence on those that interact with it. The

premise of this methodology is that the proliferation of societal narratives on social media, such as those found in the case studies, may influence individual and ultimately national worldviews related to cultural exclusion. The research questions were designed to understand these phenomena in the context of the enabling characteristics of social media.

The findings show that a culturally inclusive worldview is undermined in Australia through the reproduction of narratives that promote cultural exclusion and foster the denial of racism and white privilege. The ease of interaction, favouring of free speech and lack of legal consequences on social media platforms also contribute to the development and growth of communities with racist worldviews. In contrast, community resilience case studies show that target groups can build social media communities that put forward alternative narratives, which promote cultural inclusion, challenge negative stereotypes and work against the denial of racism and an uncritical acceptance of white privilege. These narratives support community resilience by creating safe spaces on Facebook and Twitter where target groups and their supporters can come together to develop and spread worldviews that counter racist influences. The community resilience case studies in this research demonstrate the potential for future action against racism on social media that is not just relevant in an Australian context but could be applied internationally.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1. The Cyber Racism Phenomenon

With over four billion people worldwide now connected to the Internet, the online world appears unstoppable (Internet World Stats, 2018). The Internet was first perceived as a medium that offered unlimited potential for social and political transformation, including challenging “the existing political hierarchy’s monopoly on powerful communications media” and the development of utopian communities (Wilson and Peterson, 2002, p. 451). It was seen as a separate domain: a form of virtual reality that did not have the limitations of the ‘real’ world. However, the Internet is now recognised as a ubiquitous part of many people’s lives and existing social issues such as racism are replicated on it (Daniels, 2012; Miller et al., 2016). The lack of limitations on the Internet has allowed the spread and growth of cyber racism at a rapid rate. Furthermore, the favouring of freedom of speech over freedom from, for example, race hate speech, makes curbing its influence extremely difficult (Jakubowicz et al., 2017, p. 97,98; Klein, 2017).

The increasing prevalence of cyber racism is recognised worldwide. Research in the US by Lenhart, Ybarra, Zickuhr and Price-Feeney (2016) showed that 47% of Internet users had experienced online harassment on the basis of

sexuality, gender or race. A German study had similar findings with over one third of Internet users encountering cyber racism. Significantly, 62% of those encountering cyber racism were 18-24 year-olds and 7% were the targets of cyber racism (eco, 2016, 2017). These high figures demonstrate the growing worldwide problem of all forms of hate speech on the Internet, including racism.

In Australia, The Australian Human Rights Commission (AHRC) receives and responds to complaints about all forms of racism. In 2015–2016, about 10% of all complaints received by the AHRC under the Racial Discrimination Act were about racism on the Internet (Jakubowicz et al., 2017, p.67). This percentage is recognised as only a small proportion of the actual number of racist incidents due to low reporting rates of racism in general. The Online Hate Prevention Institute (OHPI) also monitors all forms of hate, including race hate, and over two months in late 2015 it documented 1,100 cases of Muslim hate in Australia as part of their ‘Spotlight on Anti-Muslim Internet Hate’ campaign (Oboler, 2015a). In addition, a survey conducted as part of the Cyber Racism and Community Resilience (CRaCR) project found that 34.8% of surveyed Internet users in Australia had encountered some form of cyber racism (Jakubowicz et al., 2017, p.72).

1.2. The Cyber racism and Community Resilience Project

Despite the prevalence of cyber racism, the Australian Cyber Racism and Community Resilience (CRaCR) Project, to which this author is attached as a

higher degree research student, is the first in Australia to make these areas a major focus of research. A team of researchers collaborated with partner organisations, the Australian Human Rights Commission (AHRC), the Victorian Health Promotion Foundation (VicHealth), the Federation of Ethnic Community Councils Australia (FECCA), and the Online Hate Prevention Institute (OHPI), as part of an Australian Research Council linkage grant (LP120200115, 2012-2016) to investigate the problem of cyber racism. The Cyber Racism and Community Resilience project was designed to “examine the ‘chain of cyber racism’ considering the socio-political and current legal context of cyber racism” (Jakubowicz et al., 2017, p. 59).

The CRaCR project has explored the phenomenon of cyber racism from many different perspectives including social-geographical, social psychological, sociological and criminological. Each perspective offers a different epistemological understanding of cyber racism. The social geographical perspective is interested in the social experience of cyber racism across categories such as age, ethnicity, religion and type of platform. This part of the CRaCR project research used quantitative survey data to explore how cyber users experienced and responded to cyber racism as targets, bystanders or perpetrators. A social psychological exploration focused on the behavior of online racists, including the discursive strategies used, utilising discourse and content analysis methods. The sociological study was interested in the social outcomes of cyber racism. This study deployed focus groups to explore what happens to communities or members of ethnic or religious groups when they are targeted by online racist abuse and analysed survey data using concept map

analysis in Leximancer. The criminological study examined how various aspects of law grapple with cyber racism in Australia and internationally.

The research that this thesis is based on adds an important and unique anthropological perspective on how the greater proliferation of racism on social media impacts worldviews related to cultural exclusion in multicultural nations such as Australia, and how these views can be countered to promote community resilience. While there is some intersection with other socially based studies in the CRaCR project, especially the recognition of the social and political context of cyber racism, this is the only study that explores the basis of worldviews of those who perpetrate cyber racism and how counter narratives of targets contribute to community resilience.

From a cyber perspective, this study overlaps to some extent with research that focuses on other threats to Australian society, including cyber bullying and online recruitment for terrorism. While cyber racism could be considered a form of cyber bullying and could also contribute to recruitment for terrorism, these are considered as separate fields and were not covered in the CRaCR project in any detail. The findings from the CRaCR project, including some of the findings from the research in this thesis are reported in a recently published book Jakubowicz et al. (2017),¹ which will be referred to throughout this thesis.

¹ Jakubowicz, A., Dunn, K., Paradies, Y., Mason, G., Bliuc, A.-M., Bahfen, N., Oboler, A., Atie, R., Connelly, K. (2017). *Cyber Racism and Community Resilience*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

1.3. Anthropology, Culture and Racism

This thesis adopts an anthropological perspective to the study of cyber racism and community resilience. Anthropology offers unique insights into worldviews related to racism because of its focus on culture and cultural difference. While anthropology has traditionally focused on understanding ‘remote’ cultures, it is now becoming increasingly involved in the study of contemporary everyday social issues such as racism within Western cultures (Australian Anthropological Society, 2018). In multicultural countries such as Australia, anthropology offers a method of developing an in-depth understanding about worldviews that promote racism and how these worldviews can be challenged to promote community resilience. The focus on culture also aligns with a general shift from the biological basis of racism towards the cultural basis of racism in social and political environments and in research across disciplines (Forrest and Dunn, 2007; Jayasuriya, 2002; Pedersen, Dunn, Forrest and McGarty, 2012).

According to the Australian Anthropology Society (2018) the focus on ‘culture’ in anthropology, “is unique among the social sciences”. This section will expand on the anthropological concept of culture, how it relates to racism and how it is applied to this study of cyber racism and community resilience.

Geertz (1973) provides a classic explanation of culture:

... an historically transmitted pattern of meanings embodied in symbols, a system of inherited conceptions expressed in symbolic forms by means of which men [sic] communicate, perpetuate, and develop their knowledge about and attitudes toward life (p. 89).

Culture is therefore about how people develop understanding about the world in which they live and can include their ideologies, religion and values. Culture is used as a lens through which their world is interpreted and this in turn shapes their worldview. An anthropological perspective of racism consequently focuses on culture and worldviews.

Applying the concept of culture to racism has not been straightforward, primarily because as Gullstead (2004) points out, the term 'race' has been problematic in anthropology. It has had negative connotations because of historical connections between biological determinism and race (which, ironically, was promoted by very early anthropologists). More recently, the focus in anthropology has been on ethnicity and cultural diversity rather than racism.

Anthropologists of the 1940s and 1950s are credited with questioning the definition of race. It is argued that these anthropologists were instrumental in promoting the idea that race is socially constructed rather than biologically determined. Mullings (2005) highlights the work of anthropologists such as Franz Boas and Ruth Benedict who were influential in challenging the scientific justification for racial segregation in the military and mounted an

initiative promoting the social construction of race for “the highly contested” (p. 669) United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization's [UNESCO's] Statement Against Racism.

The social construction of race and the categorisation of people based on this construction are generally referred to as racialisation (Paradies, 2005).

Paradies' (2006c) definition of race acknowledges that contemporary understandings about race include recognition of the components of phenotype, genotype, culture and religion. From an anthropological perspective, culture (including religion) is the primary focus of studies related to race. It is also recognised that aspects of phenotype and genotype may be perceived to be linked to behavior and attitudes that are associated with culture. As Jayasuriya (2002) explains, people are now categorised based on “characteristics, attributes and qualities [that are] presumed to influence behaviours and attitudes” (Jayasuriya, 2002).

This categorization may also involve judgments about cultural difference, which in turn lead to some degree of privilege or oppression (racism). The privilege or oppression stems from the uneven distribution (or production) of power in societal systems (Paradies, 2005). Paradies (2006c) explains that in a similar way to other forms of oppression, “racism is embodied through attitudes, beliefs, behaviors, laws, norms and practices” (p. 145). Racism can be expressed through opinions that generate negative and inaccurate stereotypes; emotions such as fear and hatred; actions such as threats and

insults and discrimination embedded in social systems and structures (Priest et al., 2013).

1.4. Nations, National Identity and Worldviews

An anthropological perspective recognises the way that culture is traditionally conceived of as being attached to a place, for example, a country or nation state (Gupta and Ferguson 2012). People are also grouped together as communities with a common culture or national identity (e.g. ‘Australian culture’). In this conception, those who are culturally different are therefore those who come from a different nation or belong to a different community. However, Gupta and Ferguson (2012) point out that this simple dichotomy does not recognise the plurality of cultures in multicultural nations or the influence of power. They argue that a common culture or national identity is socially constructed and that cultural difference “is produced and maintained in a field of power relations” (Gupta and Ferguson, 2012, p. 17).

The social construction of who is racially or culturally different in any particular nation at any given time is therefore based on the political and social history of that nation and its power struggles over national identity (Gullestad, 2004; Vertovec, 2011). Laws and a moral economy underpin the social and political environment that legitimates and reproduces a common national identity or worldview “through a system of narratives, public rituals, representations and institutions, informal social relationships, written and unwritten regulations, and expectations of civility and public behaviour”

(Vertovec 2011, p. 246). Those people who are considered ‘outside’ the common national identity or worldview, and therefore considered racially or culturally different, are the most likely to experience racism and exclusion on the basis of their culture.

The perception of a common national identity or worldview may also be based on the presumption of racial or cultural groups and worldviews as static and homogenous. However, Vertovec (2011) argues that the values and ideologies that underpin ‘culture’ are constantly being contested and that culture is dynamic and transformative in nature. Vertovec (2011) points to the UNESCO definition of ‘culture’ that changed in 2009 to recognise this fluidity:

It is increasingly clear that lifestyles, social representations, value systems, codes of conduct, social relations (intergenerational, between men and women, etc.), the linguistic forms and registers within a particular language, cognitive processes, artistic expressions, notions of public and private space (with particular reference to urban planning and the living environment), forms of learning and expression, modes of communication and even systems of thought, can no longer be reduced to a single model or conceived in terms of fixed representations. ... [W]hereas the Organization’s longstanding concern has been with the conservation and safeguarding of endangered cultural sites, practices and expressions, it must now also learn to sustain cultural change. (UNESCO, 2009, in Vertovec 2011, pp. 4-5)

This new definition highlights the changing nature of culture and therefore the fluidity of a common national identity or worldview. This understanding is particularly relevant in multicultural countries where many different cultures co-exist. It leads to questions about the reality of maintaining a common culture or worldview in such countries. How is the worldview underlying a common national identity decided on and which cultural perspectives are taken into account? How do power relations impact these decisions and how is the changing nature of culture and the fluidity of a common national identity addressed? These questions are explored from an Australian perspective in the next section.

1.5. Multiculturalism in Australia

Australia is a prime example of a country or nation state with a plurality of cultures. The 2016 Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) Census showed that 49% of Australians had either been born overseas or had at least one parent born overseas (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2017). In addition, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Indigenous peoples make up 2.8% of the total Australian population. While English is the predominant language spoken (72%), over 300 other languages are spoken in Australian homes; and while Christianity was reported as the main religious affiliation (52%), 30% of those who elected to answer this question on the census had no religion and 18% had other religions, including Islam, Judaism, Buddhism, Hinduism etc.

This cultural plurality is the result of a conscious effort by governments to

encourage immigration, especially after 1970 (Jakubowicz and Ho, 2013, Stratton, 1998). However, successive governments have struggled to develop affective policies to address growing cultural diversity in Australia. Early policies focused on theories of assimilation as the best possible solution, whereby migrants were expected to adopt to Australian culture as quickly as possible (Jakubowicz and Ho, 2013). With a change of government in the late 1960's and the growing dissatisfaction of migrants with assimilation because of the inequality it promoted, policies moved towards theories of integration. These theories recognised the value of cultural diversity, while at the same time promoting a socially cohesive society with one core fixed culture underlying national identity.

In this conception multiculturalism and national identity are seen as separate. This separation allowed the Australian nation to be imagined by governments as a socially cohesive extension of the British coloniser's homeland with inherited British cultural values making up the core fixed culture of a successful multicultural society (Stratton, 1998). However, the view of a core fixed culture is problematic for a number of reasons. Firstly, British cultural values are regarded as superior to other cultural values. This leads to systemic 'white privilege' and the negation of the ethical obligation (by the majority culture) to acknowledge other migrants and Indigenous Australians as having equally valid cultures.

A core culture based on white privilege also contradicts the idea that cultural diversity should be valued. Marcus (1994:174) argues that in the 1970's "the

notion that all should conform to a unitary “Australian way of life was abandoned, and the various ethnic groups were encouraged to define their own lifestyle”. However, while cultural difference is tolerated by the white majority cultural group, migrants and Indigenous Australians are still expected over time to adopt the core Australian culture. Those who chose to practice their own culture are disadvantaged and may be excluded from the Australian national identity.

Despite attempts by government to address potential exclusion by including migrants and Indigenous Australians in the public sphere, this has had only minimal success. To support the policy of integration in the 1970’s, bodies representing different ethnic groups were created to supposedly give these groups a voice (Fozdar, Wilding and Hawkins, 2009). However, this has yet to translate into any significant change in the definition of the core Australian culture. To date, the predominately white male members of the Australian government make decisions about the core Australian culture based on the concept of integration. Therefore, the core culture adopted does not adequately represent the diverse range of cultural perspectives in Australia including Indigenous Australians.

Secondly, the concept of a fixed core culture does not recognise the reality of cultural melding in multicultural societies. The concept of ‘everyday’ multiculturalism (as distinct from official or government multiculturalism linked to integration) recognises people’s lived experience of cultural diversity (Wise and Velayutham, 2009). As shown in the ABS figures above, there are

many different ethnic groups in Australia, with their own unique language, religion and other cultural values. People from these different ethnic groups are engaging across cultures in their everyday lives, in clubs, pubs, churches, parks etc. on a daily basis. This engagement creates an environment where cultural values can be shared. As Wise and Velayutham (2009 p.23) discovered in her research “cultural difference can be the basis for commensality and exchange; where identities are not left behind but can be shifted and opened up in moments of non-heirarchical reciprocity and are sometimes reconfigured in the process”. These findings demonstrate Stratton’s (1998) notion of the cultural transformation that may occur in both the migrant or Indigenous culture and Australian culture when people from different cultures interact.

The concept of a national identity based on a core fixed culture which is separate from multiculturalism in Australia is based on an imaginary rather than realistic view of Australian culture and national identity. The reality is that cultural melding in the form of everyday multiculturalism is already taking place and the Australian national identity is not static but constantly changing. The continued insistence on a core fixed culture (based on British cultural values) by those in positions of power alienates and disadvantages those from different cultures. These are the Australians who are the most likely to experience racism and exclusion.

Arguments about the validity of the current view of multiculturalism and its contribution to racism and exclusion may take place in the public sphere. The public sphere includes social spaces where views can be shared, and discussion

can take place and potentially influence others. The traditional media has been a big part of the public sphere with social media a relatively recent addition. The next section looks at the potential contribution of social media to the public sphere and arguments of cultural inclusion and exclusion.

1.6. The Potential of Cyberspace

Cyberspace is the epitome of a “transnational public sphere” in which the usual spatial boundaries which “enclose cultures and regulate cultural exchange can no longer be sustained” (Gupta and Ferguson, 2012, p. 19). There are relatively few restrictions in cyberspace, leaving wide open the potential for the expression of all views. While some may regard this as an opportunity to spread positive messages of cultural inclusion, there has been increasing concern about the way the Internet can also be used for the expression of views that espouse cultural exclusion and racism (Daniels, 2009).

The use of media for the expression of such views is not new. In an Australian context, research into racism, ethnicity and conventional media undertaken by a team of researchers at the University of Technology Sydney in the early 1990s (Goodall et al., 1994) found that the views expressed in Australian media reflected the Australian national identity narrative at the time. As part of the power structure of Australian society, the views expressed on conventional media reflected the “politics of post colonial nations” and the “protection of corporate self interest” that existed in the era before the Internet (Jakubowicz et al., 2017).

However, what have changed since the 1990s are the size, scope and types of media, and the potential for the proliferation of views to a much wider audience. The advent of social media adds another dimension to the previously existing ‘private conversational media’ or ‘public broadcast media’ (Miller et al., 2016). Miller et. al (2016, p. 3) propose a ‘theory of scalable sociality’ to show how social media has influenced two scales, the size of groups and degree of privacy in the interaction between the private and public spheres. Miller et al (2016) explain that “at one end of both of these scales we still see private dyadic conversation and at the other end we still see fully public broadcasting” (p.3).

The degree of scalability is dependent on the capacity of the platform and the way people use it. Miller et. al’s (2016) research focused on the various ways that people around the world use different platforms. Within the context of the current study, this theory may also be used to demonstrate the way social media (particularly Facebook and Twitter) expand the potential for interaction through a radical expansion in the capacity to ‘share’ worldviews related to racism and cultural exclusion to a much larger audience, while at the same time enabling the challenging of such worldviews.

1.7. Research Description

The aim of this research is to develop an anthropological perspective about cyber racism and community resilience to complement other perspectives taken as part of the Australian Cyber Racism and Community Resilience project. An

anthropological perspective offers unique insight into the basis of worldviews related to racism and cultural exclusion on social media in the context of Australian national identity and how these worldviews can be challenged to encourage community resilience in targeted communities. In addition, the narrative methods used (discussed further in Chapter Three) enables analysis that draws out the underlying meaning in the social media posts and the potential influence on those interacting with them. The premise underlying this perspective and approach is that the proliferation of cultural narratives on social media, such as those found in the research case studies, may influence individual and ultimately societal worldviews.

There are two main research questions in this study:

1. How do exclusionary narratives on social media undermine a culturally inclusive worldview in multicultural nations such as Australia?
2. How do counter narratives challenge such racist narratives and contribute to community resilience in targeted communities?

Both questions are investigated in the context of existing cultural inclusion and exclusion narratives in Australia and the affordances of social media (Facebook and Twitter, in particular) in allowing such narratives to be proliferated.

The thesis includes an in-depth analysis of four case studies on Facebook and Twitter, conducted over varying periods. The justification for the choice of case studies is discussed in more detail in Chapter Three. The four case studies

include examples from Muslim Australian and Indigenous Australian communities and examples of both cyber racism and community resilience.

1.8. Thesis Outline

The study of cyber racism is relatively new in Australia, particularly in Anthropology. Research across disciplines has so far primarily focused on everyday racism and anti-racism. The literature review in **Chapter Two** will therefore take a cross-disciplinary approach to developing an understanding about cyber racism and community resilience to racism in Australia. This approach is also based on the greater focus on the cultural basis of racism across disciplines complementing an anthropological understanding.

Chapter Two begins with an analysis of research that explores everyday racism in Australia, including the development of the concept of ‘new racisms’ based on cultural difference and the role of the media in perpetuating everyday racism. It then explores how cyber space adds another dimension to the perpetuation of racism. While little research has been conducted in Australia, the role of the Internet is explored in worldwide research. This includes research that shows that cyber racism can be seen as the product of racist groups or as the outcome of individual communication. The role of social media in facilitating the spread of cyber racism is also explored. Finally, research exploring the known consequences of everyday racism and cyber racism is included to demonstrate the severity of the problem.

Chapter Two then reviews Australian anti-racism research and emerging research on community resilience to racism. The health and other consequences of everyday racism and cyber racism have generated a body of research that explores anti-racism and cyber anti-racism responses. The findings of this research highlight the difficulties of overcoming everyday racism and cyber racism, resulting in continuing ill health and other negative impacts in targeted communities. Given these difficulties the concept of community resilience to racism is introduced and in particular the use of social media for community resilience against racism.

Chapter Three explains the research methods used for this research. As previously mentioned, this research is adopting an anthropological perspective and narrative methods to complement other approaches being used as part of the CRaCR project. The first part of **Chapter Three** focuses on anthropological methods in the study of social media. While ethnography is the preferred method in anthropology, the limitations of this method for this social media research are discussed and a narrative approach is proposed as a practical alternative. The selection of the four case studies and research design is explored in subsequent parts of this chapter.

The first of the book chapters is reproduced in **Chapter Four**. This chapter investigates the development of racist online narratives. It firstly examines contrasting national identity narratives in Australia, in terms of the historical and political development of Australia as a multicultural nation. This provides context not just for the discussion in this chapter, but also for the four case

studies following. It also examines the discursive strategies used by exponents of cyber racism to promote their version of national identity narratives with examples from Australia and around the world. This contributes to understanding about the interaction between development of national identity narratives and cyber racism.

All four case studies are written as journal articles, the first already published in an anthropology journal and part of the fourth published in the second book chapter (Connelly, 2016; Jakubowicz et al., 2017). The other two are also intended for publication. **Chapters Five and Six** present the first two case studies, representing examples of cyber racism. The first case study is a six-month examination of the racist narrative on an Australian Facebook community page that was reported to the Online Hate Prevention Institute as racist, particularly towards Muslim Australians. The second is an examination of the racist narrative contained in tweets that have vilified Indigenous Australian Football League (AFL) player Adam Goodes since 23 May 2013, specifically focusing on tweets after a game during the ‘Indigenous Round’ of AFL football on 29th May 2015. In both cases, the racist narratives are examined in the context of existing narratives of cultural exclusion towards Muslim and Indigenous Australians.

Chapter Seven reproduces the second published book chapter, which explores how online communities of resistance and solidarity against racism are built. This chapter scrutinises the types of Australian online communities tackling racism, including how they achieve their aims and their success in developing a

vibrant online community. It particularly focuses on two civil society organisations, The Online Hate Prevention Institute (OHPI) and IndigenousX. The IndigenousX case study is introduced here and further expanded in Chapter nine. The findings in this chapter provide a background to the following chapters that delve further into the resilience benefits of online communities who counter cyber racism.

Chapters Eight and Nine focus on the two case studies representing community resilience to racism. The first analyses the resilience narrative in Facebook posts over a three-month period in early 2017 on an Australian community Facebook page called “Welcome to Australia”, which primarily includes asylum seekers, refugees and Muslims. The second is an analysis of the resilience narrative contained in 600 Tweets on an Indigenous Australian Twitter account called “IndigenousX” in early 2016 that is introduced in Chapter Seven. Both cases are examined in relation to existing narratives of cultural exclusion in Australia with the focus on how each challenge cultural exclusion narratives and how this contributes to community resilience.

The Conclusion, **Chapter Ten**, discusses the findings of all four cases in the context of everyday racism and community resilience in Australia and the affordances of social media. It will be argued that racism in the form of cultural exclusion narratives are reproduced on social media. The ease of interaction on social media platforms and the relatively few repercussions or opprobrium associated with the perpetration of cyber racism enable the development and

growth of communities with these sorts of worldviews, potentially increasing their influence and undermining a culturally inclusive worldview.

Affected target groups are also beginning to take advantage of the potential of social media. Target groups build social media communities that put forward counter narratives that challenge cultural exclusion narratives. These counter narratives support community resilience by creating safe spaces on Facebook and Twitter where target groups and their supporters can come together to develop and spread worldviews that counter racist influences. **Chapter Ten** also explores how the community resilience case studies in this research provide potential templates for future action against racism on social media that is not just relevant in an Australian context but could be applied internationally.

1.9. Conclusion

This chapter has presented the justification for the research that this thesis is based on. As the role of Internet in people's lives grows, so too does the potential for the reproduction of social issues, including racism. Until the Cyber Racism and Community Resilience project began, little was known about the interaction between cyber racism and its targets and audiences, or what might be effective ways to respond to it in Australia. As part of this project, the research that this thesis is based on adds an important and unique anthropological perspective to this understanding.

An anthropological perspective is important because of the current emphasis on the cultural rather than biological basis of the social construction of racism across disciplines. Anthropology is used in the social sciences because of the way it focuses on culture and worldviews. An anthropological perspective is therefore well placed to provide unique insights into worldviews related to cultural exclusion and racism within nation states and to understand the development and maintenance of worldviews that promote community resilience in targeted communities. This perspective also recognises the social construction of cultural difference in nation states and the impact on national identity narratives.

The description of the Australian context will give an important historical and political grounding to the Australian national identity narrative. This narrative will elucidate the presence of contradictory worldviews related to both cultural inclusion and exclusion, as well as to the continued racism and cultural exclusion aimed at Indigenous Australians and some migrants. Added to this is the somewhat unknown contribution of cyberspace to the spread of racism and cultural exclusion along with the opportunities it provides for responding.

While the contribution of conventional media to the reproduction and spread of racist narratives has long been explored, social media has added a new dimension that is yet to be fully revealed.

This thesis will contribute to an understanding about cyber racism and community resilience from an anthropological perspective. The findings of this study will demonstrate the basis of cultural exclusion narratives on social

media and how they contribute to worldviews about Australian nation identity. Importantly, the findings will also expose how worldviews based on cultural exclusion can be challenged to promote community resilience in targeted Indigenous Australian and Muslim communities.

CHAPTER TWO

UNDERSTANDING CYBER RACISM AND COMMUNITY RESILIENCE IN AUSTRALIA

This chapter reviews existing understanding about cyber racism and community resilience to racism in Australia. The aim is to develop an anthropological perspective towards these phenomena, focusing on the cultural basis of racism.

Understanding about cyber racism and community resilience in Australia is only beginning to develop. As described in Chapter One, despite its prevalence, the CRaCR project is the first in Australia to make this a major focus of research. Understanding about Australian racism primarily comes from research that focuses on everyday racism, its consequences and anti-racism, so this will be included in the review. Emerging research on Australian cyber anti-racism and community resilience is also included. To supplement this understanding, international research on cyber racism, the consequences of cyber racism and cyber anti-racism is also included.

There are a small number of studies in Australia that take a specific anthropological perspective to racism, which will be referred to throughout this review (examples include Cowlshaw and Moreton-Robinson, 2004; Hage,

1998, 2002, 2014; Kowal, 2015; Walton et al., 2014), although this author is unaware of any studies that take an anthropological perspective to cyber racism and community resilience to racism in Australia. However, there are many studies across disciplines that focus on the cultural basis of racism in Australia and these will also be explored further in the following sections.

Section 1 describes the development of ‘new’ racisms based on cultural exclusion in Australia and investigates how the denial of racism and white privilege impact on new racisms. It also describes the interaction of new racisms with Australian Nationalism and the contribution of conventional media to the perpetuation of new racisms. Section 2 explores international cyber racism including how the Internet is exploited by racist groups and how everyday racism is reproduced on the Internet. This includes a particular focus on the contribution of social media to the spread of cyber racism. Section 3 moves on to the consequences of racism and cyber racism and section 4 explores current Australian anti-racism and cyber anti-racism responses in light of these consequences. Section 5 investigates the need for community resilience against racism and cyber racism, including highlighting major gaps in this area. The conclusion demonstrates the justification for this study in the context of existing understandings of cyber racism and community resilience in Australia.

2.1. From Old Racisms to New Racisms

A contradictory situation exists in Australia where, despite government policies that encourage multiculturalism, everyday racism persists (Forrest and Dunn, 2007). An extensive survey conducted as part of the Challenging Racism Project from 2001 to 2008 found that that 85.2% of Australians agreed there was racial prejudice in Australia (Dunn and Nelson, 2011). When exploring the reasons for this high percentage, social constructionist theorists describe the way racist attitudes have evolved in Australia from ‘old racisms’ to ‘new racisms. In a similar manner to early anthropological understandings of race, ‘old racisms’ refer to attitudes towards other ‘races’ based on social hierarchy and separatism that emphasise racial superiority. These attitudes stemmed from the now discredited logic of biological determinism and were reflected in racist policies and practices that developed after colonisation, including the disenfranchisement of Indigenous Australians and the white Australia policy (Jayasuriya, 2002) (further elaborated in Chapter Four).

New racisms refer to attitudes that emphasise cultural difference rather than biological racial superiority. In a similar fashion to changes in understandings about race in Anthropology, Jayasaria (2002) and Lentin (2005) describe how the discrediting of the biological concept of race led to the adoption of the concepts of culture and ethnicity to describe those who do not belong to the dominant group in Australia. These concepts allow new (seemingly more acceptable) cultural exclusion arguments that focus on the incompatibility of some minority cultures with the dominant Australian cultural group. The new

racisms focus on the intolerance, prejudice towards or exclusion of others, on the basis that the outsiders do not share perceived or asserted Australian cultural values (Pedersen et al., 2012). While old racisms have not disappeared completely in popular culture and in the social psychology of racism, the contemporary perspective focuses more on the cultural basis of everyday racism in Australia across disciplines.

2.1.1. Denial, Cultural Privilege, and New Racisms

Recent research has revealed that one of the main reasons everyday racism thrives in Australia is that the existence of racism is publicly denied (Dunn and Nelson, 2011). For example, the Howard Government (1996–2007) denied any problem with racism in Australia immediately after the ethnically motivated Cronulla (NSW) riots in 2005. It was reported that approximately 5,000 people, mostly white youths of an Anglo background, gathered near Cronulla Beach in Sydney's southern suburbs to protest against the alleged undesirable behavior of Australians of Lebanese background in the area, under the guise of patriotism (Dunn, 2009; Strike Force Neil, 2006). The protest escalated and riot police were called in. However, Prime Minister Howard declared that that the riots did not indicate a problem with racism in Australia stating that he had a “more optimistic view of the character of the Australian people” (Dunn and Nelson, 2011 p.589).

In particular, racism against Indigenous Australians is strongly denied despite continued evidence of structural inequalities and disadvantage in all areas of their lives and high levels of self-reported racism (Hollinsworth, 2014).

Hollinsworth (2014) argues that one key form of denial of racism against Indigenous Australians is the deflection of responsibility for past injustices enacted by previous governments. Again, using the Howard government example Hollingsworth (2014) describes their refusal to apologise for the forced removal of Indigenous Australian children from their parents on the basis that it was not their responsibility, even though it was acknowledged as racist.

Jakubowicz (2011a) also points out the lack of government action against racism for many years prior to 2011:

Even the Government's own Australian Human Rights Commission had criticised government inaction on racism in its submission to the United Nations (AHRC 2010). It was not until February 2011... that the Government announced the first full-time Race Discrimination Commissioner for over a decade, and a national anti-racism strategy (p.701).

The reasons for this denial or inaction are not straightforward. One reason put forward by Nelson (2013) is that racism is seen as existing in the past.

Australia, it is argued by political leaders and liberal commentators, has moved on from the biologically based racial supremacy that existed in the time of

colonisation to what should now be regarded as an egalitarian society (Lentin, 2011, Walton et.al., 2014). For example, Walton et al.'s (2014) research found that some teachers in Australian schools ignore racial difference in an attempt to promote egalitarianism. Their logic would be that an egalitarian society such as Australia treats everyone the same, regardless of apparent race. Such a view indicates a perception that Australia has developed towards a post-racial society that has superseded the concept of race (Paradies, 2016).

However, this logic does not take into account the influence of Anglo or white power and privilege in Australia. Structural inequalities between ethnic groups have developed in relation to the history and politics of Australia, especially in relation to Indigenous Australians (Dunn and Nelson, 2011; Hollinsworth, 2014). These inequalities allow the dominant ethnic group, in this case generally those of primarily Anglo or white European ethnic background, to develop and maintain a privileged cultural position and voice. In addition Anglo (or 'white') cultural privilege is not generally acknowledged in Australia (Dunn and Nelson, 2011). Dunn and Nelson's (2011) surveys of over 12,000 Australians showed that almost 60% did not acknowledge cultural privilege.

The lack of acknowledgement of cultural privilege is not new or unique to Australia. Hartigan (1997) points out that anthropological studies of whiteness demonstrate "that whites [in the US] benefit from a host of apparently neutral social arrangements and institutional operations" (p. 496). The perceived neutrality of these inequalities means they are unacknowledged by many of

those who benefit by them. This lack of acknowledgement also leads to the perception that this situation is normal. Such normalisation in turn reinforces the inequalities and allows the continuation of racism.

Nelson (2012) argues that the public denial of racism in Australia “serves an ideological function, making public debate about racism seemingly unnecessary, allowing problematic public opinion to continue unchallenged, and indicating there is no need to disrupt existing power relations” (p. 48). Furthermore, minority cultural groups affected by racism are reluctant to speak up because of the negative reaction they might receive from the dominant cultural group (Dunn and Nelson, 2011). While old racisms have been discredited in Australia, the denial of racism and the lack of acknowledgement of Anglo or white cultural privilege in Australia allow everyday racism based on cultural difference to flourish.

1.1.1. New Racism, Nationalism and Ideology

New racism based on cultural difference also permeates Australian nationalism. Fozdar and Low (2015) explain that nationalism, which excludes people on the basis of their ethnic origin (ethno nationalism), has fallen out of favour in Australia, in line with the discrediting of old racisms. Some Australians now prefer civic nationalism based on the adherence to Australian values. The government interpretation of these values has been embedded in the Australian Values Statement that new migrants have to sign:

- Australian society values respect for the freedom and dignity of the individual, freedom of religion, commitment to the rule of law, parliamentary democracy, equality of men and women and a spirit of egalitarianism that embraces mutual respect, tolerance, fair play and compassion for those in need and pursuit of the public good.
- Australian society values equality of opportunity for individuals, regardless of their race, religion or ethnic background.
- The English language, as the national language, is an important unifying element of Australian society. (Australian Government, 2018b)

However, Fozdar and Low's (2015) research shows that in some cases cultural difference has been connected with adherence (or lack thereof) to Australian values and laws. While Forrest and Dunn's (2006) research showed a high level of intolerance of cultural difference, Fozdar and Low (2015) extend this understanding, though research demonstrating that those who are culturally different (especially Muslims) may also be perceived as not adhering to Australian laws and values, despite no evidence to justify this view.

This aligns with "an assimilationist or ethno cultural view of Australian society which is different from the 'civic nation' ideal envisaged by multiculturalism" (Forrest and Dunn, 2006, p. 167). Fozdar and Low (2015) explain that these two supposed incompatible views can be promoted simultaneously through the use of arguments that superficially conceal ethno-nationalistic views through

language that appears to be promoting civic nationalism. For example, narrow cultural inclusion criteria can be promoted by focussing on protecting Australia and Australian values from external threats. In the case of Muslims, for example, fear is generated through the terrorist threat and a link is made to Muslim culture being incompatible with Australian values (Griffiths and Pedersen, 2009).

The justification of racism on the basis of cultural difference is more likely to be associated with particular ideologies. A meta-analytic review of negative attitudes towards asylum seekers found that right-wing (politically conservative) authoritarianism had the strongest correlation with social dominance orientation (SDO) (Ferguson, 2017). Ferguson (2017) explains: “Stemming from social dominance theory, individuals high in SDO are likely to have a preference for clearly defined social hierarchies rather than egalitarian social structures” (p. 3). Similarly Pedersen and Hartley (2011) found that people with more right-wing views were more prejudiced against Muslim Australians. They also reported that one third of their participants believed that conformity to Australian culture was a high priority.

Related to this is the phenomenon of false consensus, where people with racist attitudes are particularly likely to over-estimate community support for their views. An increase in negative attitudes towards asylum seekers and Indigenous Australians was found to coincide with their belief that their view had community support (Pedersen, Griffiths and Watt, 2008; Pedersen and

Hartley, 2017). Pedersen and Hartley (2017) also indicate that right-wing political orientation and prejudice were strong predictors of false beliefs.

1.1.2. New Racism and The Australian Media

One major influence on worldviews related to cultural exclusion is the conventional Australian media. An Australian book based on research in the 1990's discussed findings that showed representations of particular cultural groups influenced peoples' perception of them, in both the way Australian society and new migrants are portrayed (Goodall et al., 1994). One of the authors, Jakubowicz (2008) argues that the Australian media demonstrates bias in favour of Anglo or white representation: "The content and presenters of the media, from drama to comedy, from news reporters and readers to quiz and 'reality' show hosts and participants" do not reflect the reality of multiculturalism in Australia. They "portray Australia as a society of generally undifferentiated sameness" (p. 38). Such representations in all areas of media contribute to the perpetuation of worldviews that promote Anglo or white privilege rather than cultural diversity.

The negative portrayal of ethnic minorities in Australia also contributes to such worldviews (Phillips, 2011). Nolan et al. (2016) argue that the media reproduces 'hegemonic politics'. For example, a focus on the media portrayal of refugees, asylum seekers and Muslim Australians since the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks also shows the development of negative attitudes towards them (Klocker and Dunn, 2001). Dunn, Klocker and Salabay (2007) found that

the negative media treatment of Muslims is strongly linked to antagonistic government dispositions towards Muslims. In addition, research into media coverage after the ‘Sydney siege’ in 2014 found an emphasising of “hegemonic ideas of the Australian national identity and values” (Colic-peisker, Mikola and Dekker, 2016, p. 373) further promoting a white privileged view of Australian society, that does not include Muslims.

International research also shows a correlation between news and television exposure and negative attitudes towards migrants. Jacobs, Meeusen and d’Haenens (2016) found that a preference for commercial news that is predicated on ‘market logic’ (rather than public news) leads to a more negative attitude towards immigrants in viewers. Jacobs, Hooghe and de Vroome’s (2017) research also linked television watching with a fear of crime and then subsequently linked this with anti-immigrant sentiments. Similarly, research conducted in New Zealand showed that increased anger and reduced warmth towards Muslims was associated with people’s greater exposure to the news (Shaver, Sibley, Osborne, & Bulbulia, 2017). These studies demonstrate that television and news media influences viewers’ attitudes about other cultures.

2.2. International Cyber Racism

As a form of mass media, the Internet also provides potential opportunities for influencing worldviews related to cultural exclusion. While early Internet research claimed that the Internet was race free or post-racial, international scholars now agree that race and racism also permeates online spaces (Back,

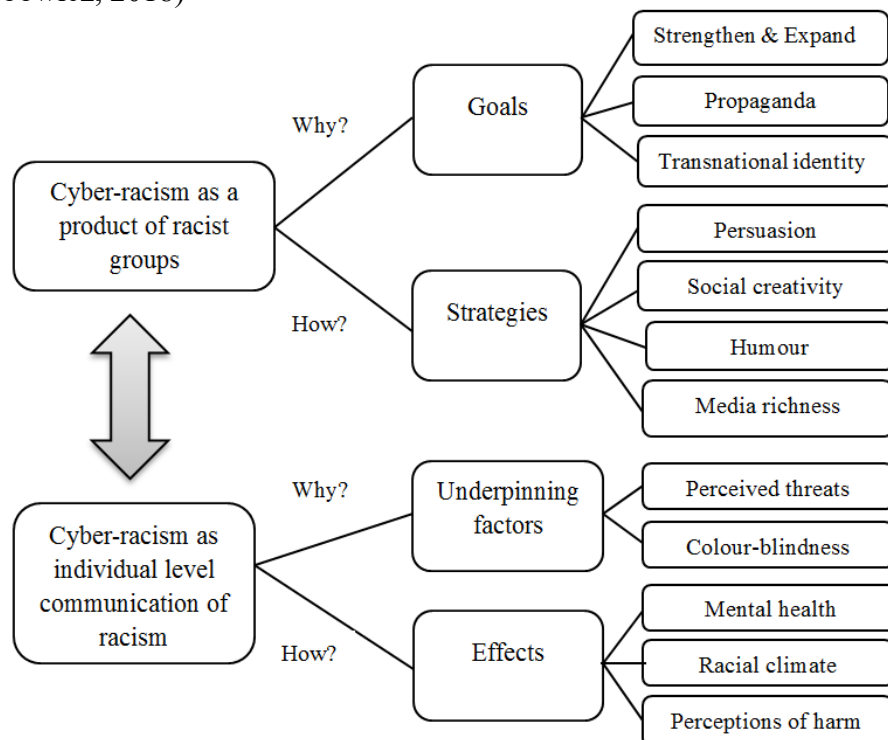
2002; Daniels, 2012; Jakubowicz, 2012; Lisa Nakamura & Chow-White, 2012). Back (2002) originally deployed the notion of cyber racism to demonstrate how the Internet provided culturally supportive spaces for people to espouse racist ideologies. Back's observations were also later expanded by researchers such as Daniels (2009, 2012, 2015) who contribute a wider understanding of the multitude of ways the Internet is implicated in the continuation and expansion of racist group agendas and everyday racism. It is now acknowledged "that race and racism exist in all parts of the Internet, from the technological structures, to the spaces of interaction such as websites, online games and social media, to the laws governing the Internet" (Connelly, 2016, p. 166).

The recognition of the permeation of racism in all parts of the Internet has led to the emergence of research that explores this phenomenon from many different perspectives. These perspectives include exploring the novel ways that racist groups use the Internet and how individuals reproduce everyday racism online. More recently, there is a greater focus on the way social media contributes to cyber racism. The next two sections explore international and Australian research on the role and impact of the Internet and social media in the reproduction of racism. They particularly focus on the contribution of social media to racism and cultural exclusion.

2.2.1. Exploiting the Internet and Reproducing Everyday Racism

Jakubowicz (2012) and Daniels (2012) highlight the way racist groups have learned to exploit the affordances of the Internet. Daniels (2012) and Tynes, Rose, and Markoe (2013) also acknowledge the way that offline (everyday) racism is reproduced on the Internet. Similarly, a review of worldwide cyber racism articles as part of the CRaCR project classifies them according to their focus on either racist groups that use the Internet to achieve certain goals or individuals who behave in a racist way online (Bliuc, Faulkner, and Jakubowicz, 2018). The review then refines this classification into studies that look at the goals of racist groups and the strategies used to achieve these goals, the factors underpinning individual online racism, and the effects on the targets of racism (see Figure 2.1).

Figure 2.1 Cyber racism review summary (adapted from Bliuc, Faulkner and Jakubowicz, 2018)



As shown in Figure 2.1, studies focusing on racist groups found that they use the Internet to consolidate their identity and expand through the recruitment of new members (Bliuc et al., 2018). This is achieved through realising the potential of the Internet to popularise their ideology. Klein (2012) describes a “model of information laundering” whereby false information and counterfeit political movements can be washed clean by a system of advantageous associations." (p.432). Klein (2012) argues that groups build what appears to be a legitimate cyber presence and online network. This is similar to Daniels (2009) designation of ‘cloaked websites’ to describe the way some racist groups deliberately hide a white supremacist political agenda. Discursive techniques used by groups to hide racism include the creation and exploitation of ‘moral panic’ (the belief that other races pose a moral threat), and the use of humour in the form of jokes, puns and caricatures that legitimise racism (Faulkner and Bliuc, 2016).

According to Bliuc, Faulkner, and Jakubowicz (2018), there are fewer studies looking at factors underpinning individual cyber racism. Such factors are attributed to the connection between individual everyday racism and online communication. The Internet is seen as an additional communication medium, where people reproduce everyday racism, through the expression of racist views. As a communication medium the Internet may influence worldviews related to racism in a similar way to conventional media. However, as described in Chapter One, the social scalability of the Internet in terms of its potential greater reach may contribute to a greater influence on worldviews (Miller et al., 2016). Klein (2017) also points out that people are more inclined

towards disinhibition and disengagement on the Internet, potentially increasing the likelihood of cyber racism being perpetrated by people who would not otherwise publicly express racist views.

There were only two studies in the review that explored cultural aspects of cyber racism by examining the attitudes of the participants in online chat rooms and showing that they reproduce perceived cultural and economic threats and colour blind attitudes (Tynes, 2007; Tynes & Markoe, 2010). Only one study specifically focused on cultural exclusion on the Internet, noting that cyber racism contributed to the perception of a negative ‘racial climate’ (i.e. feeling excluded because of your race or culture) and the perception of the potential for personal and social harm (Tynes et al., 2013).

2.2.2. Facilitating Cyber Racism on Social Media

There is a growing body of research specifically focusing on social media platforms and the way they contribute to the spread of cyber racism. This contribution is important because of the popularity of social media (estimated at 2.46 billion participants worldwide in 2017 (Statistica, 2017)) and the potential influence on those who engage on the various platforms. Facebook and Twitter are two of the bigger platforms. Facebook is a social networking site, which focuses on sociality and connecting people individually and as part of communities (Facebook, 2018a; Van Dijck, 2013). Twitter is regarded as an additional source of news based on commentary and opinions about events, generated by citizens and also focused on engagement between them (Weller,

Bruns, Burgess, Mahrt, and Puschmann, 2014). Facebook and Twitter do not explicitly condone racism, both having rules and principles that potentially restrict racism on their platforms (Facebook, 2018a; Twitter Inc., 2018).

However, the studies in this section demonstrate that racism not only occurs on social media platforms but is also enabled by them.

Social media platforms operate through business policies that are designed to both facilitate social networking and grow their market share (Matamoros-Fernández, 2017; Van Dijck, 2013). Sharing (including liking or reacting and commenting) is a major contributor to both the business and sociality aspirations of Facebook. Van Dijck (2013) argues that sharing, a primary part of Facebook's Terms of Service, is predicated on the values of openness and connectedness. The prioritising of these values through sharing facilitates the growth of all Facebook communities, including those that espouse racist narratives.

Matamoros-Fernandez (2017) coined the term 'platformed racism' to describe the way social media platforms facilitate the spread of racism. Her research into an Australian race-based controversy theorises that platformed racism includes both the exploitation of freedom of expression on social media by individuals and groups and the platforms' use of 'algorithms'² to connect people to a wider audience. In their research into the mediation of the boogie

² Social media algorithms are a way of sorting posts in a users' feed to prioritize which content they see. The main use of algorithms is in marketing. (Jackson 2017).

and vilification of Australian Football League (AFL) star Adam Goodes on Facebook, Twitter and Youtube, Matamoros-Fernandez (2017) found that the way platforms were managed contributed to controversial humour and racist content directed towards Goodes being spread and amplified.

Jakubowicz (2015) also demonstrates that Twitter can be exploited to spread racism. In a case study of Twitter ‘swarms’ related to an anti-mosque campaign in Bendigo, Australia, Jakubowicz (2015) argues that the aim of tweeters is to encourage an anti-Islamic narrative by keeping swarms of tweeters engaged with increasingly sensationalist material. Waller, Hess and Demetrious (2016) add to these findings by emphasising the contribution of power and influence on the number and types of racist tweets. In an analysis of tweets also surrounding the same mosque controversy, Waller et al. (2016) argue that due to the high percentage of tweets and retweets originating from high profile journalists, politicians, or religious or cultural group members with power and influence, the overall narrative may not represent a balanced view.

In addition, Waller et al. (2016) point out that the rise in “fake tweets, anonymity, sock puppets, botnets and cyborgs” (p.53) make it difficult to verify the validity of tweets. Similarly, Bessi’s (2015) research shows that approximately 80 percent of Facebook posts are based on conspiracy stories rather than facts, making it easy for misinformation to be spread. Those espousing racist views may see this as an opportunity to spread false rumours, thereby potentially contributing to cyber racism. The unreliability of

information on Facebook and Twitter means that unsubstantiated rumours add to already existing cyber racism.

2.3. The Consequences of Everyday Racism and Cyber Racism

The exploitation of the Internet by racist groups, the reproduction of everyday racism, and the facilitation of racism on social media all potentially contribute to conditions that cause an increase in racism and worldviews related to cultural exclusion. This is likely to add to the already existing negative consequences of everyday racism. The next two sections outline the existing known consequences of everyday racism and cyber racism as a prelude to the sections on anti-racism and community resilience.

2.3.1. The Health and Other Consequences of Everyday Racism

The mental and physical health impacts of everyday racism all over the world are widely researched. Two international systematic reviews conducted by Australian researchers synthesise these findings (Paradies et al., 2015; Priest et al., 2013). Paradies et al.'s (2015) systemic review and meta-analysis of 293 international studies shows a strong relationship between self-reported racism and poorer mental and physical health. Similarly, Priest et al.'s (2013) international systematic review of studies examining the relationship between reported racism and health and wellbeing for children and young people also showed a link between racism and poor mental health outcomes.

Paradies (2006) seminal work defines, conceptualises and characterises racism in health research. Paradies (2006) describes how the experience of racism can vary according to what part of life it is experienced in (e.g. childhood or adulthood), the intensity or extent of mental or physical stress, and the frequency and duration with which it is experienced. Paradies (2006) also classifies the characteristics of racism according to the mode (inter- vs intra-racial), form (e.g. blatant or subtle), level (internalised, inter-personal or systemic), expression (stereotype, prejudice or discrimination), setting (e.g. domestic or employment), and the identity of the perpetrators (e.g. friends, strangers or policies). These factors contribute to the reactions and responses to racism, which Paradies describes as cognitive (adaptive or maladaptive), affective (disempowering or empowering), and behavioural (also adaptive or maladaptive).

Australian research into the health impacts of racism focuses on various experiences and outcomes as described by Paradies (2006). In their interpretation of a 2006 Australian nationwide survey regarding experiences of racism, Nelson, Dunn, and Paradies (2011) found that different forms of racism, including racist talk, exclusion, unfair treatment and physical attack, have a negative impact on a sense of belonging in Australia. Affects varied according to the type of racism experienced, from becoming bitter and cynical, to “damage to citizenship and psychological well being” (p. 174).

A concern for the impact of racism on Australian children has led to studies that explore their health outcomes related to racism. In a study of racial

discrimination in 263 children and youth students (from 8 to 17 years old) in seven Australian schools, Priest et al. (2014) found that students from minority ethnic groups reported more racist experiences and this was associated higher levels of loneliness or depressive symptoms. Priest et al. (2016) also warn that racism should not be conflated with general bullying. Their research showed that bullying and racism in Australian children are not always related and should not be seen synonymously; a focus on bullying alone in children may miss unique stressors.

Research specifically focusing on racism in Indigenous Australian young people shows that they experience racism at a particularly high rate and that this is linked to negative health outcomes. Research by Priest, Paradies and Stewart and Luke (2011) showed that 52.3% of the Indigenous study participants have experienced racism. Several studies also show that the experience of racism is associated with poor social and emotional wellbeing in Indigenous Australian youth, including anxiety, depression, suicide risk and poor overall mental health (Priest, Paradies, Gunthorpe, Cairney and Sayers, 2011; Priest et al., 2011; Priest, Paradies, Stevens and Bailie, 2012).

As the group that experiences the highest rate of racism, Indigenous Australians often have associated major adverse health outcomes. Mental health in particular is affected, with studies showing a significant association with poor general mental health in Indigenous Australians who experience racism (Awofeso, 2011; Paradies and Cunningham, 2012; Ziersch, Gallaheer, Baum and Bentley, 2011).

In addition to the negative health outcomes for individuals and associated public health consequences as a result of racism in Australia, Elias and Paradies (2016) have quantified the cost to Australia's economy:

Racial discrimination costs the Australian economy 235,452 in disability adjusted life years lost, equivalent to \$37.9 billion per annum, roughly 3.02% of annual gross domestic product (GDP) over 2001–11, indicating a sizeable loss for the economy. (p. 1)

2.3.2. The Impacts of Cyber-Racism

Research on the effects of cyber racism as part of the Bliuc et al. (2018) review show that it has negative impacts on targets similar to everyday racism, including contributing to mental health issues such as depression and anxiety. For example, a study of online racial discrimination and psychological adjustments in adolescents in the United States shows a negative association between online racial discrimination and psychological functioning (Tynes, Giang, Williams and Thompson, 2008).

Research conducted by Awan and Zempi (2015) into virtual- and physical-world anti-Muslim hate crime (including social media hate) in the United Kingdom also shows that their participants experienced a range of psychological and emotional responses, including depression, isolation and anxiety. In addition, because the participants viewed the hate crime as an attack on their identity, it had “severe implications for their levels of confidence and

self-esteem, as well as for their feelings of belonging and safety in the United Kingdom” (p. 373).

A 2013 Australian survey conducted as part of the CRaCR project looked at the cyber racism experience and reactions of members of the most targeted groups: Australians of Indigenous, African, Middle Eastern, Chinese, Jewish and Muslim backgrounds (Jakubowicz et al., 2017 p.75). The findings of this CRaCR research show that target group members felt angry and abused about their exposure to online racism. While this research also explored target group members’ responses, including commenting on the racism, reporting it or blocking it, it is not clear if these actions had a positive impact on them.

The previous two sections have reviewed the substantial body of Australian research focusing on the consequences of everyday racism and the smaller body of research investigating the additional consequences of cyber racism. These consequences include mental and physical health concerns for individuals and targeted groups, and the public health and social and economic impacts for Australian society as a whole.

2.4. Anti-racism in Australia and Cyber Anti-racism

While there is evidence of the existence of everyday racism and cyber racism and the recognition of their consequences in Australia, anti-racism practices and policies have been slow to develop and have not been well documented. A reason for this may be that the historic problem of racism in Australia has been

somewhat overlooked because it is implicitly accepted as part of Australian culture. Although racism based on biological determinism has been discredited, as described in Section 2.1, the public denial of racism and the lack of recognition of white privilege ensures new racisms based on cultural exclusion continue.

Nelson (2015) explains that use of terms such as ‘racism’ and ‘racist’ are being avoided by some people because of their emotive nature; people are worried about reactions (such as defensiveness) the use of these terms might provoke. Walton et al. (2013) also point out that Australians are not clear about what constitutes racism. They note some of their research subjects thought it was acceptable for a racist statement, stereotype or joke to be made if it was directed at a friend. This avoidance and confusion has led to a subtle acceptance of racism and racist behaviour in Australian society that would need to be addressed for anti-racism strategies to succeed.

In addition, tolerance has been promoted as the preferred method for dealing with relations between cultural groups (Balint, 2006). Tolerance is merely acceptance without recognition of the inequalities and injustices that have occurred over time (Nelson, 2015). Proponents of tolerance argue that it is preferable to other more inclusive or even celebratory methods of cultural inclusion because it more achievable (Paradies, 2016). However, Paradies (2016) points out three key critiques of tolerance.

(1) it is morally inadequate in that racism should be overcome rather than abided (Habermas, 2003), (2) it perpetuates or, at least, fails to remedy the asymmetrical power relations inherent in racialised systems of disadvantage/oppression (Hage, 1998), and (3) it cannot be achieved (Latour, 2004) in the context of ‘super- diversity’ (Vertovec, 2007).
(p.4)

These critiques highlight the difficulties of overcoming racism through tolerance. Paradies (2016) points out that if tolerance as a minimum cannot be achieved, there is little hope of addressing the concerns in the critiques and moving towards more respectful or appreciative forms of cultural engagement.

2.4.1. Responses to Everyday Racism

The need for multi-faceted anti-racism responses that acknowledge the entrenched nature and varied experiences of racism in Australia is developing (Berman and Paradies, 2010; Nissim, 2014; Pedersen, Walker, Paradies and Guerin, 2011). Pedersen, Walker and Wise (2005) suggest that a combined top-down (e.g. institutional/community intervention) and bottom-up (e.g. individual/interpersonal strategies) approach is needed. In addition, Dunn, Forrest, Pe-Pua et al. (2009) argue that anti-racism should not be seen as a finite problem that can be ‘fixed’ but rather as an ongoing project.

Understanding why people develop anti-racist attitudes and/or are motivated to engage in anti-racist activities may be a starting point in anti-racism research. Neton and Pedersen’s (2013) Australian research suggests that females who are

older and politically left leaning are more likely to have ‘bystander anti-racism intentions’ (p.36). Bystander anti-racism refers to helpful action taken by someone who has heard racist talk or witnessed racist acts. Empathy that leads to concern and emotions such as guilt and anger about racism was also associated with these intentions. In their research into attitudes towards Black African immigrants in Australia, Khan and Pedersen (2010) also found that direct experience, indirect experience and values such as integration lead to less prejudice.

The likelihood of those from the dominant white cultural group of engaging in social justice activities or acting as ‘white allies’ is dependent on their awareness and motivation (Ford and Orlandella, 2015; Ostrove and Brown, 2018). Research conducted in the US looking at why white men were engaging in anti-racist work concluded that the men in the study had a pre existing sense of justice and fairness (Krejci, 2007). They also had some ‘foundational’ understanding of racism with either direct experience of diversity or oppression or anti-oppression political work. In addition, they were lead to anti-racist work by ‘catalytic processes’ that included “1) learning about racism from people of color, 2) being encouraged to do anti-racist training/work, and 3) experiencing anti-racist training” (Krejci, 2007, p. 73). Ostrove and Brown’s (2018) study assessing qualities associated with affirming attitudes (low prejudice, high internal motivation to respond without prejudice, allophilia, and awareness of privilege) had similar findings. Ostrove and Brown’s (2018) study also suggested that respect is one of the most important features in the people of colour and ally relationship.

In Australia, responses to racism so far have focused on reducing negative beliefs and discriminatory behaviour by white Australians towards Indigenous and CALD (culturally and linguistically diverse) Australians. As Donovan and Vlais (2006) observe, these strategies share a common goal to reduce negative beliefs about, and discriminatory behaviours towards, CALD groups by the dominant group. One way of achieving this is through the use of bystander anti-racism strategies, which can include confronting the perpetrator or assisting the target (Nelson, Dunn and Paradies, 2011). A survey conducted by Pennay and Paradies (2011) found strong support for bystander action in Australia, and government bodies and campaigns have been developed to promote bystander anti-racism.

At a national level the Australian Human Rights Commission (AHRC) has been instituted as the organisation responsible for promoting and protecting human rights in Australia including the right to be protected from discrimination on the basis of race, colour, descent or national or ethnic origin. The racial discrimination act (RDA) provides legal protection to those who can prove that section 18C of the act (which makes it a civil offence to insult, offend, humiliate or intimidate someone on the basis of their race) has been breached (Australian Human Rights Commission, 2016). Most complaints reported to the AHRC are settled via conciliation, with only 4 proceeding to court since 2000.

The AHRC also conducts campaigns to promote an anti-racism message. The ‘Racism It Stops With Me Campaign’, which featured Australian Indigenous football player Adam Goodes, promotes bystander anti-racism (Australian Human Rights Commission, 2017). The aim is to educate the general public about racism and encourage bystanders to name and respond to racism when they see it, promoting rejection of racism. Similarly, Beyondblue (2018) ‘Stop/Think/Respect’ campaign intends to educate the public about the impact racism can have on targets, while calling on bystanders, perpetrators or potential perpetrators to behave with this awareness in mind.

At a state level, the Victorian Health Promotion Foundation report into race based discrimination in Victoria explored the key factors contributing to race-based discrimination and developed a framework for action (Paradies et al., 2009). It made a number of recommendations of actions to reduce race-based discrimination and support diversity, including increasing empathy, raising awareness, providing accurate information, increasing personal and organisational accountability, recognising incompatible beliefs, breaking down barriers between groups, and promoting positive norms. The report also acknowledged that in order to sufficiently address this problem, these actions should take place across the range of institutional, community and government settings.

The development of a project that aimed to address the institutional nature of racism was underpinned by the Victorian Health Promotion Foundation Report (Ferdinand, Paradies and Kelaher, 2013). Institutional racism refers to racist

policies and practices that are embedded in institutions and organisations. The ‘Localities Embracing and Accepting Diversity’ (LEAD) Project was funded and developed to prevent race-based discrimination from occurring in mainstream organisations. The LEAD project is based on a ‘partnership model’ that allows for flexibility in delivery according to different contexts, including organisational audits and pro-diversity training (Ferdinand et al., 2013).

Diversity training that encourages people to reflect on the process of racialisation, including essentialism, and how racialised identities are maintained within particular contexts, is understood to be an effective method to help reduce racism (Kowal, Franklin and Paradies, 2013; Pedersen et al., 2011). Pedersen, Paradies, Hartley, and Dunn (2009) also found that structured education on cross-cultural issues is linked to more a positive attitude towards that group and a willingness to speak out against racism.

In addition non-government organisations are also contributing to government and institutional anti-racism efforts. For example All Together Now, a purpose driven civil society organisation, focuses generally on encouraging the embracement of cultural diversity (All Together Now, 2018a). Following recommendations in the Building on our Strengths report, All Together Now uses a combination of online and traditional educational and campaigning strategies to achieve its aims (Paradies et al., 2009). A study by CEO Priscilla Brice made a number of recommendations regarding proven effective initiatives that have been adopted by All Together Now (Brice, 2013). These include “providing training for teachers and frontline workers, providing

training for activists and other volunteers, supporting governmental bodies by encouraging individuals and organisations to report racially motivated incidences, and continuing to reduce recruitment by white supremacists” (p. 5).

The success of anti-racism strategies depends somewhat on existing attitudes. Findings on the willingness to participate in bystander anti-prejudice on behalf of Muslim Australians showed that those who have ethnocentric views were the least likely to participate (Mcwhae, Paradies and Pedersen, 2015). Findings regarding anti-racism strategies for Indigenous Australians also point out the paradox of anti-racism intentions that may unintentionally contribute to the continuation of racism and disadvantage of Indigenous Australians. Kowal (2015), for example, argues that the ‘settler-colonial imaginary’, in which anti-racism has its basis, assumes that Indigenous Australians are stuck in the past, lack agency and are in need of help from white Australians.

2.4.2. Cyber Anti-Racism

The growth of racism on the Internet has led to the instigation of anti-racism responses specifically targeted at cyber racism and Internet responses to everyday racism. Jakubowicz et al. (2017) describe how cyber anti-racism responses on the Internet can be reactive or proactive. Reactive responses include calling out incidences of cyber racism, working to have racist material removed, and disproving racist claims with facts through online campaigns. Proactive responses include the online promotion of cultural values that focus on the positive aspects of multiculturalism, sharing knowledge about the

culture and traditions of targeted groups, and sharing information about the harm caused by racism.

These cyber anti-racism responses may come from a variety of sources that have an online presence, including civil society organisations affiliated with or representing one targeted group or a number of different targeted groups; governments agencies; members of the public who take grassroots action; and academics (Jakubowicz et al. 2017). These groups can act as a *source* of information; for example, government agencies and academics can provide factual information, or members of targeted civil society groups can provide information about their experiences, or act as *amplifiers* where they help to spread the message of others.

While all of these cyber anti-racism responses are possible, they are yet to be fully activated. One of the biggest barriers to action is the problem of regulating cyber racism. Mason and Czapski's (2017) review of current regulations in Australia concluded that there is a gap in current regulatory mechanisms caused by what they describe as a 'double challenge' that includes "ambiguity and controversy over legal definitions of racial speech and amplification of regulatory difficulties on the Internet" (p.53). These regulatory difficulties are related to problems of enforcement when the potential anonymity of the perpetrator and the volume and speed of dissemination of racist material make identifying incidences of cyber racism and responding to them in a meaningful way extremely difficult.

Another difficulty is legal recourse. As previously mentioned, the AHRC responds to complaints about all forms of racism in Australia, including cyber racism. However, the expense and difficulty of enforcing the provisions of the Australian Racial Discrimination Act (RDA) make it almost impossible for the average citizen to consider legal action (Jakubowicz et al. 2017). The ‘Adelaide Institute case’, which successfully proved that the Adelaide Institute had breached the RDA by posting anti-Semitic material, ran for approximately 13 years and cost the Executive Council of Australian Jewry AUD\$56,000.

There has been some attempt at self-regulation of racism on the Internet by social media companies. For example, Facebook and Twitter have terms and conditions that potentially limit racism and also have user systems for reporting racism. However, most incidences of racism are not removed. An OHPI report into the state of anti-Semitism on social media, based on a sample of 2,024 anti-Semitic items from Facebook, YouTube and Twitter found that the take down rates were between 2% (YouTube) and 46% (Facebook) (Oboler, 2016). Facebook has attempted to respond to racism after sustained pressure relating to the ineffective handling of hate speech against Syrian refugees in Germany (OHPI, 2016e). Facebook’s response involved partnering with the ‘Online Civil Courage Initiative’, which encouraged anti-racism with regard to Syrian refugees in Europe (Institute for Strategic Dialogue, 2018). However, this did not extend worldwide or to other forms of racism.

An alternative option developed by the civil society organisation the Online Hate Prevention Institute (OHPI) is an online tool that allows people to report

racism when they see evidence of it on Facebook, YouTube and Twitter (Oboler and Connelly, 2018). While these reports may not lead to the removal of the racist material (although this is possible), the data is compiled and can be made available through their CSI-CHAT tool and potentially used to inform academics in their research, government agencies in their policies, or civil society organisations in their collective action (see Chapter Seven).

In a similar way to the OHPI, Burnap and Williams (2016) built datasets of Twitter cyber-hate, including race-based hate. It is possible to utilise both the unique characteristic of tweets as a short collection of words and the search facilities available to develop quantitative understandings of racism on Twitter. Burnap and Williams (2016) aim is to build a classification system that may be used by others to monitor and police cyber-hate on Twitter. In addition, Chaudry's (2015) analysis of three Canadian Twitter studies shows that they are able to identify different types of racist words and hashtags that are used and geographically map them. This data is then contextualised according to the local population and the presence of everyday racism in that area, and may assist with cyber anti-racism responses.

Other proactive responses include the development of applications (apps) that are designed to educate the public about the experience of racism. Australian-based civil society organisation All Together Now developed the *Every Day Racism Mobile* app, which is based on giving individual users an immersive experience by simulating a week in the life of someone from another culture, thereby challenging what they think they know about racism (All Together

Now, 2018b). Research undertaken by All Together Now reveals that use of the app greatly increased users' understanding of everyday racism and their likelihood of responding to it. Behm-Morawitz et.al. (2016) used a similar US-based app in an intersectional analysis (race and sex) of the effects of virtual racial embodiment. They found "that creating and embodying a Black avatar produced more favorable beliefs about African American men, but not African American women, and greater support for 'pro-minority' policies in comparison to creating and playing a white avatar" (p.396). They suggest that while using the app may reduce some stereotyping, more research needs to be done in this area.

All Together Now, OHPI, and other organisations such as the Federation of Ethnic Community Councils Australia (FECCA) also proactively help to promote awareness about racism and cultural diversity through their websites, Facebook pages and Twitter accounts (Jakubowicz et al., 2017). These groups run specific campaigns that respond to organised racism by various groups, providing factual information to counter racism. The AHRC also promotes its anti-racism campaigns and positive messages through Twitter and Facebook (further elaborated in Chapter Seven).

Studies that explore the potential of the Internet and social media for anti-racism are beginning to develop. Henry (2009) argues that the openness of the Internet allows the spread of positive messages, which can be used to drown out hate messages such as racism. Similarly, in their research into blogging about asylum seekers in Australia, Fozdar and Pedersen (2013) found that

“blogs are potentially useful sites for the development of communicative consciousness in relation to race issues, particularly the challenging of racism” (p. 371). However, these studies only touch the surface of the potential of the Internet and social media.

The AHRC and other organisations with a wide reach not only promote their own anti-racism work but through acknowledging the work of others they also contribute to amplifying the message. While cyber anti-racism efforts and research is increasing, the size of the problem and the regulatory and response difficulties pose ongoing problems. In addition, cyber anti-racism efforts are likely to face similar issues to everyday anti-racism with regards to the entrenched nature of racism and white privilege in Australia but this is yet to be explored.

2.5. Community Resilience

While recognition of racist behaviours and the development of everyday and cyber anti-racist strategies are developing, Nissim (2014) notes that recent research and initiatives primarily focus on state-sanctioned, rather than community-led anti-racism strategies, and on the *perpetrators* and *bystanders* to racism rather than the *targets*. The strategies focus on calling out racism and ensuring the introduction and maintenance of anti-racism policies and education. Even so, everyday racism continues to exist and is further facilitated by cyber racism on the Internet and social media. While, anti-racism efforts may contribute to a reduction in racism and improved outcomes for targeted

communities, additional approaches that focus on community resilience in targeted communities are also needed.

2.5.1. Community Resilience and Racism

Until recently, community resilience research has primarily focused on natural disasters, with an aim to understand how ‘enhanced recovery’ is achieved.

Enhanced recovery refers a community’s ability to mitigate vulnerabilities, improve health consequences, and restore community functioning (Chandra et al. 2010). Pfefferbaum, Pfefferbaum, and Van Horn (2015) in the US identified six ‘promising’ interventions that can be used to enhance community resilience in response to natural disaster:

- (a) use a multihazard approach relevant to the local context, (b) utilize community assessment, (c) focus on community engagement, (d) adhere to bioethical principles, (e) emphasize both assets and needs, and (f) encourage skill development. (p. 238).

In a similar way, research focusing on social issues has emphasised exploring the components of approaches that build resilience in individuals and communities. In Australia, this has included an exploration of a refugee settlement program, an examination of how sport contributes to resilience against violent extremism, and an analysis of projects that were funded as part of the Australian government Building Community Resilience program.

Mitchell, Kaplan and Crowe (2007) explored the application of a ‘community recovery model’ to the resettlement of Sudanese refugees in Australia,

including recognition of the communal nature of the traditional culture of many of them. This research recognised that an approach that allowed refugees to maintain their own culture while integrating into Australian culture (also referred to as ‘cultural resilience’) contributed to community resilience. The findings also showed that creating a sense of belonging along with building strong leadership, values, and support networks also contributed to community resilience in this Sudanese community.

Other resilience research explores the impact of sports-based youth mentoring schemes on developing resilience towards violent extremism. Johns, Grossman, and McDonald’s (2014) findings show that these schemes contribute to individual and community resilience. Involvement in sport was shown to have a positive contribution to individual feelings of confidence and self-esteem in relation to breaking down cultural stereotypes and improving intercultural communication. This also contributed to community resilience through the building of ‘bridging capital’, the breaking down of barriers between study participants and the wider community. The emphasis is on improving social cohesion in Australia, thereby reducing violent extremism.

An analysis of 11 projects funded as part of the Building Community Resilience grants program (Commonwealth of Australia, 2017) also had a similar focus. The aim of this program was the prevention of radicalisation of Muslim Youth by assisting communities to strengthen their capacity to work with individuals to help them disengage from violent extremism and reconnect with their communities. Jakubowicz (2015) identified four key activities that

contributed to community resilience in these communities. In similar findings to Pfefferbaum, Pfefferbaum, and Van Horn (2015), these included knowledge and awareness through education, skill building, mentoring, and building networks of civic participation. While these findings are significant, the project's major emphasis was violent extremism rather than racism.

There is only one Australian study to date that this author is aware of that has focused on resilience to racism. Bodkin-Andrews (2013) explored how high-achieving Indigenous Australians from a variety of backgrounds overcame their experiences of racism. He identified a number of techniques used by the individual Indigenous Australian participants in his research as “agents of resiliency”. These include “acknowledging racism”, “emotional distancing”, “staying positive”, “[a strong] sense of [Indigenous] identity”, “seeking support”, “staying calm”, and “challenging racism” (pp. 14-15). Nissim (2014) further expands Bodkin-Andrews's findings by using these techniques to develop a “framework to build resilience in those at risk of racism” (p. 16) and suggesting that both government and civic organisations and communities can activate changes to promote resilience and gives a number of examples where this is already occurring. Nissim (2014) primarily refers to individual resilience but touches on the idea of a culturally safe place for communities, which “could be an organisation established solely for a particular cultural or ethnic community” p.18) that promotes community resilience.

Other Australian racism studies have included aspects that may relate to resilience against racism but have not made this a focus. Nelson, Dunn and

Paradies (2011), for example, reported that one of the findings of their research was that the experience of racism made the target a ‘stronger person’, although it is not clear how this would contribute to their resilience. Salleh-Hodden and Pedersen (2012) identify intergroup contact as a protective factor for Muslims who experience discrimination in Australia but do not relate this to community resilience.

2.5.2. Cyber Community Resilience to Racism

Jakubowicz (2015) emphasises the importance of communication in facilitating community resilience against racism. Effective communication allows communities experiencing trauma such as racism to activate the key strategies identified above. A key part of this process “lies in the capacity of communities to reknit through a shared process of visioning a future post the trauma” (p . 9). The Internet and social media in particular may facilitate such visioning. However, while cyber anti-racism efforts may contribute to community resilience in targeted groups, to date there is limited research that explores this specific potential.

A Canadian study by Scobie and Rodgers (2015) explored Canadian Inuit use of social media to counter a social media campaign that portrayed their practice of seal hunting as a cruel and unnecessary. The Canadian Inuits put forward a counter narrative that explained the cultural aspect of seal hunting, their dependency on seals for survival and their humane way of killing them. This study found bringing Canadian Inuits together to work towards a common goal

strengthened their common bond and belief in themselves and contributed to community resilience.

2.6. Conclusion

Although everyday racism based on biological determinism and racial superiority is discredited in Australia, new racism based on cultural difference has in many ways taken its place. The focus on the cultural basis of racism aligns with the anthropological perspective being taken in this thesis. Current cross-disciplinary Australian research contends that new racism thrives due to structural inequalities based on Anglo or white privilege that are not acknowledged and the existence of racism being denied or seen as existing in the past. In addition, cultural difference may be conflated with a type of ethnic nationalism that masquerades as civic nationalism. Those who are culturally different (especially Muslims) are excluded from the Australian national identity on the basis that they do not adhere to Australian laws and values despite no real evidence to justify this claim.

Through their bias towards Anglo or white representation and the negative portrayal of ethnic minorities, conventional Australian media is credited for having a major role in perpetuating worldviews that promote Anglo or white privilege rather than cultural diversity. As a form of mass media, the Internet also has the potential to reproduce and influence worldviews related to racism. International research describes how racist groups realise the potential of the Internet by using various strategies to popularise their ideologies, in some

cases disguising their white supremacist aims. A small number of international studies reveal the way individuals use the Internet as a communication medium to reproduce everyday racism. There is also emerging research on the way social media contributes to the facilitation of racism through the prioritising of the values of openness and connectedness.

Understandings about racism have lead to a focus on the mental health, physical health and other consequences of everyday racism in Australian research, including one study that shows a negative impact on Australian targets' sense of belonging. International research on the affects of cyber racism shows it has similar negative consequences. Given these consequences, an associated body of research is exploring responses to racism. In an Australian context, anti-racism research shows the need for multi-faceted responses. Current approaches emphasise reducing negative beliefs and discriminatory behavior by white Australians towards Indigenous and CALD Australians in various ways and in a variety of settings. Cyber anti-racism responses so far primarily focus on the potential of the Internet to provide both reactive and proactive responses. However, these potential responses are limited by regulatory difficulties that limit the identification of the instances of cyber racism and make legal recourse almost impossible.

There is some progress in cyber anti-racism responses to racism by non-government organisations. In Australia, this includes the development of reporting software by the OHPI and experiential online apps by All Together Now. However, Australian research shows that current responses concentrate

on the *perpetrators* and *bystanders* to racism rather than the *targets*. There is some emphasis on community resilience in Australia, but research so far has concentrated on resilience in relation to violent extremism and social cohesion, which is not the primary focus of this thesis. Only one Australian study was identified that focused on resilience to racism in individual Indigenous Australians and one International study focused on community resilience using social media.

In the context of the aims of this research, which is to develop an anthropological understanding of cyber racism and community resilience, this review has identified several gaps in existing Australian and international research. While current Australian research has identified the cultural basis of everyday racism, including cultural exclusion through ethnic nationalism and the involvement of conventional media in the reproduction of racist worldviews, other than the CRaCR project, there has not been any substantial contribution to understanding the contribution of the Internet or social media to these phenomena. In addition, this author is not aware of any studies in Australia that take an anthropological perspective to cyber racism.

The focus on the consequences of everyday racism and anti-racism responses indicates that these are a high priority in Australia. However, the reality is that racism continues to take a high toll on targeted communities. While community resilience is seen as important and research in this area is emerging, it does not yet extend to exploring community resilience to racism in targeted communities in an everyday or cyber context in Australia. In addition,

while international research fills some of the gaps in cyber racism research, particularly in relation to understanding how racist groups utilise the Internet and social media, it does not yet extend to a thorough understanding about how targeted communities can utilise the Internet to develop community resilience.

CHAPTER THREE

THE NARRATIVE APPROACH

This chapter describes the methods used for this research. It begins with a general description of anthropological methods and how they can be applied to social media research. It then discusses the limitations of the traditional ethnographic approach for this research and justifies the narrative approach taken. An overview of the case study selection and study design follows, keeping in mind the desire to develop an anthropological perspective. The specific data collection and analysis techniques are also explored, including a description of the case studies.

3.1. Anthropological Methods in Social Media Research

As described in Chapter One, undertaking this study from an anthropological perspective facilitates a focus on the central tenets of anthropology, culture and worldview, in an Australian context. The development of an in-depth understanding, which is usually achieved through conducting long-term ethnography, is also regarded as important in anthropology (Australian Anthropological Society, 2018). While typically conducted offline, long-term ethnography has also been adapted to the Internet. Kozinets (Kozinets, 2006) coined the term ‘netnography’, which is:

a qualitative, interpretive research methodology that adapts the traditional, in-person ethnographic research techniques of anthropology to the study of the online cultures and communities formed through computer-mediated communications. (Kozinets, 2006, p. 281)

Different researchers have used online ethnography (or netnography) in various ways depending on the field site. For example, when researching online gaming communities, a researcher can take on a role as an avatar and become part of a gaming world in order to perform in-depth participant observation. Boellstorff (2008) is well known for his online ethnographic research, conducting participant observation in the online game 'Second Life'.

The use of online ethnography for social media research is also developing. The Global Social Media Impact Study (Miller et al., 2016), for example, took an approach that considers the link between online and offline worlds by looking at the ways different communities around the world use social media through the use of online and offline ethnography. Researchers spent time in communities in their everyday worlds as well as observing their social media interactions and how one affects the other. This combination gave an everyday context to the social media activity observed.

3.2. Limitations of Long-Term Ethnography

While long-term ethnography is the preferred method in anthropology, there are a number of limitations in relation to the fieldwork undertaken as part of

this study. These limitations are not unique to this study. It is recognised that social media research in general poses a number of “complex ethical dilemmas” surrounding consent and traceability (Henderson, Johnson and Auld, 2013, p. 546). In many cases, social media research may be new to the university and the researcher needs to negotiate with the ethics committee to ensure acceptable procedures are followed.

The primary limitation in this research related to the difficulty of obtaining consent from study participants. Obtaining consent was difficult because:

- a) The administrators of Facebook pages that were identified as potentially racist would not respond or unreservedly give their consent.
- b) The numbers of tweeters involved in some of the cases were in the hundreds, making it very difficult to gain consent.
- c) In some cases, it was hard to identify the tweeters/posters.

The difficulty of obtaining consent impacts on the ethical requirement for research participants to be informed and willing to participate in the research. In social media research there are two main ethical considerations related to consent. The first relates to whether or not the data is regarded as public and therefore openly available for study without consent. In consideration of this issue the US Federal Advisory committee on Internet research states:

If individuals intentionally post or otherwise provide information on the Internet, such information should be considered public unless existing law and the privacy policies and/or terms of service of the entity/entities receiving or hosting the information indicate that the information should be considered private. (Secretary's Advisory Committee on Human Research Protections, 2013, p. 5)

The data used in this study came from online sites that are considered public. However, the University of Technology Sydney (UTS) ethics office identified the second issue, which is also mentioned in the US Federal advisory committee report. Even in the case where the data is clearly public, the person posting it may not realise this, despite it being technically their responsibility. In these cases, de-identifying the data can also protect a poster's identity. For this study, the UTS ethics committee agreed that if the researcher was not able to gain consent she needed to ensure all data was de-identified and not traceable.

While still being able to use the data despite not gaining consent provided a solution to the ethical issues, it was a limitation to long-term ethnography, which usually involves participant observation with the consent of the participants (Australian Anthropological Society, 2018). However, the inability to gain consent meant that participants could not always be informed that this researcher was conducting research, and so she could only observe, not participate. While non-participant observation was a possibility, there were other limitations.

It was decided that four shorter cases rather than one long case would provide an optimum outcome for this study (see Section 1.4 for case selection). Time was therefore limited with each case, again making long-term ethnography difficult. Pink and Morgan (2013, p. 3) make a case for short-term ethnography, which was initially found to be applicable to this study, and argue that short-term data can also be regarded as “ethnographically rich” (p. 3) through the use of multiple approaches to data analysis. However, again, because consent could not always be obtained, even short-term ethnography would not involve participant observation and therefore not be an optimal method for this study.

The eventual case selection and study design also meant that all data was primarily textual (text or memes/photos). This was also a limitation for long-term ethnography. Researching only social media texts means that only one dimension of the study participants’ lives in relation to racism or resilience is observed. Miller et al. (2016) got around this problem by observing their research participants in their offline world as well as their online world. This gave additional everyday context to their research and validated the online ethnography. However, again because of consent and other issues (described in case selection), this study could not extend to observation of the study participants in their offline worlds.

3.3. Justifying a Narrative Approach

While long-term ethnography is the preferred method in Anthropology, it is not the only method available, nor is it the only method capable of achieving an in-depth understanding. Ingold (2008) argues that “Anthropology is Not Ethnography”, despite their long association. Ethnography is used in many other disciplines, and other methods are used in Anthropology with great success. Ingold (2008) points out that anthropological research involves the intertwining of observation, description and comparison, which can be achieved through various research methods.

The particular challenges of this research meant that a range of research methods was investigated until a narrative approach was decided upon. As an emerging social media research method, the narrative approach provides an alternative to ethnography when the data being explored are primarily textual. This approach investigates not just the content, but also the meaning imbedded in the text in particular contexts. In addition, it does not require participant observation and can be used for shorter periods of data collection and analysis. In a social media context, a narrative approach has been used to explore online social media narratives in, for example, psychology (Rosa and Santos, 2014); visual studies (Uimonen, 2013), and the use of Facebook itself (Yang and Brown, 2013); however, this author is unaware of any studies that take a narrative approach to social media studies in anthropology. In addition, because a narrative approach is less common in anthropology as a whole, this

section will also explore cross-discipline understandings of the narrative approach.

The words narrative and story are often used interchangeably, although it can be argued that a story is a prototypical type of narrative (De Fina, 2017). This thesis will be referring to narratives rather than stories. A narrative can be described as a tool for communication that needs to be understood in terms of how it is produced (De Fina 2017). De Fina (2017) identifies two types of narrative, the master narrative and the everyday narrative. The master narrative is an overall societal narrative of the social conditions that give context to everyday narratives. Everyday narratives describe and interpret everyday experiences according to each individual's perspective of the master narrative.

Cultural psychologist Bruner (1991), a colleague of Geertz, is well known for his promotion of a narrative approach for understanding social reality. Cooper and Hughes (2015) describe Bruner's narrative approach as embodying the dimensions of action and consciousness. The action dimension refers to an understanding "of events over time and location" and the consciousness dimension is "inferred through the communication of implicit meaning found in lived experiences" (Cooper and Hughes, 2015, p. 32). The consciousness dimension, which includes cultural and historical contexts, personal experience and social practice, enables the interpretation of events in a particular way through narrative.

Scalise's (2015) exploration into the narrative construction of European identity also recognises how individual and collective dimensions of identity narratives are interdependent: "It is assumed that narrative reflects the values, interests and conflicts of the social context in which people live and in which identity develops" (p. 594). Narrative contributes to social identity by "giving meaning to experience and social action" (p. 594).

Also drawing on the work of Bruner, anthropologist Mattingly (2008) argues that everyday narratives – verbal, written or otherwise – are interwoven into society and act as a fundamental way of making sense of the world. Mattingly focuses on the impact of narrative on culture and worldviews, arguing that narratives allow comprehension and interpretation of a particular worldview that distinguishes difference from others. Individually and collectively, each social or cultural group understands and contributes to their culture through narrative reproduction.

An anthropologically based narrative approach focuses on individual narratives being analysed in the context of the collective societal narrative. In a similar way to ethnography, the narrative approach is able to observe, describe and compare each narrative to the societal narrative to develop an in depth understanding (Ingold, 2008). In terms of this research, the narrative approach provides a method of interpreting narratives on social media in the context of the societal conditions that allow the reproduction of those narratives. In particular, this research will be exploring worldviews about cultural inclusion

and exclusion in social media narratives in the context of the Australian societal narrative.

3.4. Case Selection

In order to provide a balanced analysis that takes into account the dynamics of cyber racism and community resilience, four case studies were selected on the basis of how they express their engagement with cultural difference. The case studies selected represent a variety of approaches to engagement with cultural difference across the cultural inclusion and exclusion spectrum. This facilitates an exploration of the underlying tensions and processes of cultural inclusion and exclusion as revealed in the underpinning narratives in each case study.

Another primary influence on case selection was the survey conducted as part of the CRaCR project (Jakubowicz et al., 2017), which identified Indigenous Australians and those of Middle Eastern and North African origin (most likely Muslims, refugees and asylum seekers) as the communities that experience the highest rate of cyber racism. The survey found:

Aboriginal Australians were by far the most likely to indicate that they had been targets of cyber racism, with one-fifth indicating that this was the case (20.7%). This was followed by North African and Middle Eastern Australians (12%). (p. 75)

The four case studies selected are representative of these targeted communities, two representing Indigenous Australians and two representing those from

asylum seeker, refugee and Muslim backgrounds (primarily North African or Middle Eastern Australians). The case studies also represent Facebook and Twitter, the two social media platforms that have a high usage rate in Australia. Active monthly users of Facebook in Australia number around 15 million, which is approximately 60% of the total Australian population (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2018; Cowling, 2017). The Twitter numbers are lower, but still substantial with around three million active users. Social media such as Facebook and Twitter are now accepted as part of everyday life and they provide a rich source of data for analysis (Miller et al., 2016). In addition, data on these platforms are easily accessible in cases where it might be not possible to gain consent from individual participants. Public Facebook pages and Twitter feeds proved to be easily accessible.

This researcher was not able to obtain consent for the two case studies focusing on cyber racism, so these cannot be identified. The first is a public Facebook community page with a nationalistic message and both cultural inclusion and exclusion narratives. The second is a public Twitter feed that publicly vilifies Indigenous Australian footballer Adam Goodes. The other two case studies focusing on community resilience can be identified because the administrators and/or the participants gave their consent. One is a public Facebook Page, 'Welcome To Australia', which promotes a cultural inclusion message; the other is an Indigenous guest Twitter account, 'IndigenousX', which presents the perspective of the Indigenous participants.

The Welcome To Australia Facebook page was not the original case intended. During the first year and a half of this research, offline ethnography was conducted with the CRaCR project partner organisation The Federation of Ethnic Community Councils Australia (FECCA) Youth Group. The researcher attended the youth group meetings and interviewed members about their intention to develop a project focusing on online community resilience against racism. However, this initial FECCA Youth project did not proceed; its difficulties in securing resources and engaging participants revealed much about the challenges to building community resilience against cyber racism.

About six months later changes in staff and membership of the FECCA Youth Group, including a new chairperson, reinvigorated the project. A new working group was established and included community groups The Liverpool Migrant Resource Centre in Sydney, and High Resolves (an NGO that focuses on global citizenship through education in Australian Youth). This new working group was initially enthusiastic and prospects looked promising, but the project had to cease because no funding was allocated to it and none of the working group members was able to take responsibility for it due to their other commitments. While this case study had to be abandoned, the chair of the FECCA youth group was also CEO of the Welcome to Australia Community Group and it was agreed that I could analyse posts on its Facebook page.

3.5. Study Design

The study design was based on the desire to develop an anthropological perspective about cyber racism and community resilience on social media in Australia using the narrative approach and case selection.

As described in Chapter One, the anthropological perspective informed the aim of the research and the research questions, which included a focus on culture and worldview. The aim of this study is to understand the content and context of cyber racism narratives on social media and how they attempt to influence worldviews related to cultural inclusion and exclusion, and conversely how their influence can be curbed to encourage community resilience. Two main research questions explore these phenomena:

1. How do racist narratives on social media undermine a culturally inclusive worldview in multicultural nations such as Australia?
2. How do counter narratives challenge such racist narratives and contribute to community resilience in targeted groups?

These questions are explored in the general context of cultural inclusion and exclusion in Australia.

Through these questions, each of the four cases explores the way a culturally inclusive worldview is undermined in relation to the specific community, or conversely, how such worldviews are challenged to promote that community's resilience. The narrative approach means that the social media text is examined as a narrative. In each case, the Facebook posts and Twitter feeds are seen as

representative of unique narratives at a particular point in time. Each case's narrative is developed specifically in relation to the study questions and is examined in the context of cultural inclusion and exclusion in relation to that community. It is acknowledged that each community has a different history and relationship with cultural inclusion or exclusion in Australia and therefore needs to be individually contextualised.

The study also explores the affordances of social media (Facebook and Twitter, in particular) in allowing narratives to proliferate. As previously described, Facebook and Twitter are now ubiquitous in many peoples lives – Facebook as a social networking site, and Twitter as an additional source of news (Van Dijck, 2013; Weller et al., 2014). While their philosophies are based on connecting people, they also operate under business models with business aims. This study also explores how the backgrounds, modes of operation, and conflicting aims and policies of Facebook and Twitter contribute to the exclusion narratives identified.

3.6. Data Collection and Analysis

Given the textual nature of the data, data collection involved downloading copies of the Tweets or Facebook posts for the period of the case. The progression of the researcher's doctoral program and decisions about the appropriate cases determined the period of study. Most of the data collection occurred during 2015 and 2016, with an additional case added in early 2017 due to the abandonment of the FECCA Youth group case. The lengths of the

cases were primarily dependent on the platform (Facebook or Twitter) and the number of posts or tweets. In general, the number of tweets in a given period far exceeded the number of Facebook posts, although there were individual variations. For this study, the periods allocated for the Twitter cases were shorter than for the Facebook cases.

Data analysis involved constructing each case's narrative in relation to the study questions and contextualising these in relation to the narrative about cultural inclusion and exclusion in Australia. The construction of the narratives involved thematic analysis of the social media text using primarily NVivo to code the Facebook pages data and Twitter analytics. Some coding was also done manually. Thematic analysis focused on the content of the text and used a grounded theory approach to decide on the themes (Riessman, 2005).

According to Riessman (1997), "Language is a direct and unambiguous route to meaning" (p. 2). In this study, the language is the social media posts and tweets and the meaning is derived from the themes that are revealed in the analysis.

3.7. Conclusion

This chapter has described the approach being taken in this research. In contrast to the traditional practice of using ethnography in anthropology, this research is using a narrative approach. It is argued that this approach is justified because of the limitations of social media research identified in this study. These included the difficulty in obtaining consent, the textual nature of

the data and the decision to conduct four short-term case studies rather than one long-term study. In addition, the discussion of the narrative approach reveals that it is suited to anthropologically based research because it allows an in-depth understanding of the phenomena being researched. This is achieved through the exploration of the narrative of each case study in the context of the collective societal narrative.

The four case studies in this research were chosen because they represent a cross section of online communities who engage in various ways with cultural difference. They represent communities who experience the highest levels of cyber racism in Australia, as well as Facebook and Twitter, the social media platforms most widely used in Australia. The case studies were designed to draw out an understanding about the content and context of cyber racism narratives on social media and how they attempt to influence worldviews related to cultural exclusion, and, conversely, how their influence can be curbed to encourage community resilience. Data from each case study in the form of Facebook posts and tweets over varying periods were downloaded. A thematic analysis uncovered the underlying narratives in the posts and tweets in relation to the research questions. These were contextualised within the narrative of cultural inclusion and exclusion relative to each of the four case communities. The next chapter introduces the Australian perspective and the discursive construction of racist narratives and chapters Five and Six explore the first two case studies.

CHAPTER FOUR

ONLINE RACIST NARRATIVES

The first co-authored book chapter included in this thesis is reproduced here with minor changes. The book chapter was developed in collaboration with fellow CRaCR project team member Ana-Maria Bliuc and draws on the complementary disciplinary backgrounds of the authors in social psychology and anthropology. The aim was to expand on existing understanding about the development of online racist narratives, including the contextual basis of the narratives and the discursive strategies used. This chapter provides some background understanding for the first two case studies explored in the following two chapters.

4.1. Introduction

By the time Australia Day was commemorated across most of the country in January 2017, the debate over Australia's identity and the interpretation of its founding moments had reached a crescendo. While most of the country had a public holiday that celebrated the arrival of the British armed forces and their possession of the lands of the Indigenous Eora people in 1770, many Indigenous people and their supporters were commemorating what they saw variously as Invasion Day and Survival Day.

This fundamental tension over the narrative of the nation marks much of the conflict around questions of race and the role of racism in Australian public discourse. These two archetypes of Australian national identity constantly confront each other (Bliuc et al. 2012; Fozdar et al. 2015). One narrative celebrates the emergence of a democratic, prosperous and multicultural modern nation in which the egalitarian ethos flourishes and where racism is the refuge of the uneducated, the marginal and those bypassed by global modernity. The counter-narrative remembers Indigenous people as the First Nations people, acknowledges their lands were stolen and their peoples massacred and sees the racism that could justify such dispossession and its denial as a continuing and relentless mark of shame in what remains an ethnocracy (Jakubowicz, 2016).

Overlaying this narrative binary, the articulation of a white power and nationalist view of the past and present penetrates social media and the wider Internet. While racist speech is condemned in Australian public discourse, Australian law does not prohibit it. Thus, racism on social media, as described in Chapter One and Two of this thesis, has become almost all-pervasive: a maelstrom of opinion, abuse, truths and post-truths. A narrative frame of reference enables this chapter to explore more deeply the basis for the arguments that feed the growth of cyber racism. The role of narrative may be to assist people to make sense of the world around them (Mattingly et al. 2008). Narratives both reflect and influence this understanding or worldview. Such an understanding is therefore not static, but rather constantly changes and occurs at both individual and societal levels. A narrative analysis can focus on the

content and context of cyber racism arguments and explore how they attempt to influence others.

The first part of this chapter uses the Australian example to demonstrate the development of contrasting national identity narratives and their interpretation on social media. This includes contextualising the narratives in terms of the historical and political development of Australia as a multicultural nation. The second part of this chapter uses examples from Australia and around the world to explore the discursive strategies employed by exponents of cyber racism to promote their version of national identity narratives. These complementary approaches, drawing from social psychology, sociology and anthropology, aim to give insight into the dynamic through which cyber racism can be legitimised through narratives about national identity.

4.2. The Australian National Identity Narrative

The online contestation of national identity occurs within existing everyday narratives of inclusion and exclusion (Connelly, 2016). Such narratives are primarily a debate over who has the power to make decisions about which races, cultures and religions should be included in narratives of national belonging. Social actors use inclusion and exclusion arguments to justify and advance particular ideologies that support their claim to power. These narratives are also contextual and evolving, depending on the history and politics of a nation.

In Australia, the current claim to power began with the narrative of colonisation. Colonisation in itself is based on an overarching ideology that the white British colonisers had the right to enter and claim ownership of Australia (incorrectly based on the doctrine of *Terra Nullius*³) and therefore assert power over decisions of inclusion and exclusion (Council for Aboriginal Reconciliation, 2001). The colonisers also brought an imperial assimilationist perspective for the new society that privileged people considered as fitting into the category of ‘white Australian’. This category initially referred to people from a white European background.

Indigenous Australians were judged as less civilised, treated as inferior, and regarded as not eligible for inclusion in the category of white Australian (Hage, 2002; Perera, 2005). This view was based on the then popular notion of biological determinism that positioned Indigenous Australians as a dying race destined for extinction and led to racist acts against them, including the dispossession of land, violence and murder, and the introduction of laws that provided state governments “with the power to control Aboriginal people and further restrict movement and strip rights in relation to residence, marriage, custody of children and control over personal property” (Kowal, 2015; Trener, 2016, p. 55).

Non-white European and Asian immigrants were also initially not included in the category of white Australian (Hage, 2002; Perera, 2005). Resentment

³ According to the Oxford Dictionary (2018) *Terra Nullius* means “Land that is legally deemed to be unoccupied or uninhabited”.

towards Chinese and other Asian workers in the mid-19th century led to the development of the *Immigration Restriction Act* (established during Federation in 1901). The ‘white Australia Policy’, as it is commonly referred to, was developed to “exclude and restrict the flow of immigrants from non-European countries” (Trenerry, 2016, p. 55). In addition, requirements were placed on new and existing immigrants to assimilate and adopt the dominant language (English) and culture. As migration increased, the category of white Australian was subsequently expanded to include some of these migrants based on their willingness to adopt the dominant white Australian culture (Perera, 2005).

Initially, the dominant white Australian culture primarily incorporated inherited (white British) nationalist ideological values such as democracy, freedom and the Christian religion (Hage, 2002). Other values and religions were not tolerated, and migrants and Indigenous Australians who chose to maintain different cultural values were excluded from the Australian national identity narrative. However, Indigenous Australian resistance movements, which have drawn international attention to Australia’s discriminatory policies, and the refusal of some migrants to abandon their culture and language are leading to a shift in attitudes (Trenerry, 2016).

Over time, values such as egalitarianism and inclusiveness have come to be seen as potential additions to the definition of Australian cultural values. This view appears to resemble ideologies of cosmopolitanism, which recognises the value in engaging with migrants and Indigenous Australians and their cultural differences (Jakubowicz, 2011b; Skrbis, Kendall and Woodward, 2004;

Werbner, 2008). As an overarching philosophical or ideological concept cosmopolitanism encompasses social relations in a complex and culturally diverse world (Jakubowicz, 2011b). Beck (2002) argues that interaction with cultural difference in multicultural societies is inevitable and that embracing cultural difference is the ideological aim of cosmopolitanism.

While many Australians may appear to hold these values, their view of inclusiveness of other cultures is not straightforward. A 2016 survey showed that over 83% of Australians agree that “multiculturalism has been good for Australia” (Markus, 2016, p. 50). This survey also found that a majority of Australians believe in an approach to multiculturalism that more closely resembles cosmopolitanism as a two-way process involving both Australians and migrants productively engaging with cultural differences. In reality, people with different cultural backgrounds engage with each other on a daily basis through everyday inter-actions in their neighbourhoods, at schools, and so forth (Jakubowicz and Ho, 2013). In this way, cultural difference is regarded as an unremarkable part of everyday Australian life, and the potential for cultural inclusiveness is increased.

However, Markus (2016, p. 51) also found that 59.5 % of those surveyed agreed that “people who come to Australia should change their behavior to be more like Australians”, indicating that they are unclear about cultural inclusion or the embracing of cultural difference. As well, 28% of Australians believe migrants should “forget their ethnic and cultural backgrounds as soon as possible” (p.51). This aligns more with early assimilationist views that argue

there should be one (white) culture in Australia and that cultural diversity is dangerous (Salter, 2012). For Australians who believe in assimilation, migrants and Indigenous Australians who appear unwilling or unable to adapt to Australian culture may be considered as a threat to the dominant white Australian culture. This supposed threat may be used to support nationalistic ideologies and claims to power that continue to legitimise exclusion and racism against Indigenous Australians and migrant groups.

The national identity narrative in Australia continues as a contested domain. This domain includes a variety of worldviews that could be classified on exclusion to inclusion spectrum. At one end of the spectrum are those whose worldviews promote nationalist ideologies and the exclusion of people who do not fit into the category of white Australian or who do not assimilate into the dominant white Australian culture; at the other end are those who have an idealistic worldview of an Australian version of cosmopolitanism in which different cultures are embraced.

4.3. Fantasising Australian Identity Narratives on Social Media

The struggle over what best represents a “true” Australian national identity is becoming increasingly visible in the digital realm. The spread of Facebook’s social media pages has provided ideal locations for creative interpretations of Australia’s history and identity to be constructed, reinvented and circulated. The authors of one nationalistic Australian Facebook page claim authority

based on the belief that they represent Australians who wish to preserve an identity based on a specific white version of the “Australian way of life”. The narrative on this page is based on an underlying ideology that not all migrants (or Indigenous Australians) should be included in their definition of Australian identity. The authors argue that people with desirable Australian cultural values such as patriotism should be included in their version of the Australian way of life, while some migrants and others with different cultural values are portrayed as threatening and are excluded. In particular, refugees and Muslims are the target of racist vilification and ridicule on this page on the basis that they pose an unacceptable threat to Australian culture (Connelly 2016).

This narrative is also spreading beyond followers of this Facebook page to the wider community. The ease of interaction on Facebook means that posts that are liked, shared and commented on by the followers of this page not only show up in their news feed but may show up in their friends’ news feeds as well (depending on the privacy options selected), and friends of friends, and so on. This potentially increases the number of people who are exposed to this ideology exponentially. One post that made a link between a Muslim who was accused of planning a terrorist attack in Australia and all Muslims attracted 120,000 likes despite the number of followers of the page (in January 2017) being 84,000. This demonstrates that Facebook users are becoming more exposed to exclusion narratives that legitimise cyber racism. This narrative is discussed further in case study one, Chapter Five.

In contrast to this exclusion narrative, other Facebook pages put forward ideologies that are more culturally inclusive. The aim of one Facebook page with an alternative view is to welcome all refugees and migrants to Australia regardless of the country of origin or religion (See case study three, Chapter Eight). Posts on this page encourage engagement with cultural difference. For example, one post refers to a billboard showing two Muslim Australian girls celebrating Australia Day. This post encourages engagement with an alternative view of Muslim Australians as non-threatening and worthy of inclusion in the Australian identity. One comment on this post referred to the lines of the song *I am Australian* by the Seekers: “We are one, but we are many and from all the lands on earth we come” to make their point. Although this post received only just over 1500 likes, the total likes for the page is almost 130,000, showing that this narrative is also gaining momentum.

The current narrative about who is included or excluded in Australia continues as a contested domain. Both of these Facebook pages have the power to delete comments that do not align with their version of the inclusion/exclusion narrative (and often do so). Their pages therefore stand as representative of two delineated narratives about Australian identity. On one side of the argument are people who align more with a white nationalist assimilationist view that regard their version of white cultural values as superior and call on the exclusion of those who do not align with those values, while on the other side are people who align more with the inclusiveness and cultural engagement of cosmopolitanism. As the research by Markus (2016) shows, while most Australians support multiculturalism, some are unsure about cultural

inclusiveness and engagement. These Australians may be influenced by white nationalistic ideologies that use cyber racism to assert their claim to authority about who should be included in the narrative about Australian identity.

4.4. National Identity Narrative Construction and Cyber

Racism

The narrative construction of national identity on social media occurs against the backdrop of the growing influence of cyber racism. At its most general, cyber racism has been defined in the literature as racism expressed or communicated via the Internet (Bliuc et al. 2016). Cyber racism is sometimes conceptualised in more strategic terms as “the use of the World Wide Web by white supremacist groups in a manner directed towards identity building, grievance framing and efficacy” (Adams and Roscigno 2005, p. 763).

Racist narratives are often generated by organised groups aiming to gain socio-political leverage or popular support by taking advantage of the affordances made possible by the widespread use and development of new communication technologies. Indeed, research suggests that racist, extremist groups were always early adopters of technologies (Back, 2002), quickly becoming adept in using them to advance their group’s goals (e.g., expanding their support base, disseminating their radical ideologies and increasing visibility and gaining economic benefits through selling their branded merchandise, (see Gerstenfeld et al. 2003).

However, it is not only the white supremacist groups that are known to propagate racist discourses in the online world. “Lone wolves” or isolated individuals with racist views can also be prolific in disseminating racist discourse on the Internet. These are often disguised as patriotic defenders of a particular nation’s values who express “moderate” views on forums and news commentary websites. Our recent research on racism in Australian online forums shows that in many cases racists can develop complex arguments—built, for instance, around moral disengagement strategies—that they use to legitimise and mainstream their views (Faulkner and Bliuc, 2016).

Narratives of racism are often hotly contested, so for researchers, one benefit of the widespread use of the Internet and social media is that they can explore how arguments are developed across both sides of the debate. That is, online debates around racism represent rich and reliable sources of spontaneously generated data that reflect current societal issues and divisions. Researchers in many disciplines are increasingly using these large and readily available data sources to analyse inter and intragroup dynamics in many domains including cyber racism (Lazer et al. 2009).

4.5. Categorising Racist Discourse in Cyber Racism

Narratives

Cyber racism narratives can be better understood by delving more deeply into the source of the communication and the nature of the discourse. If the source is a “white Power” or “alt right” site, where racist views are expressed

alongside other anti-progressive, more general-type messages, the type of racist discourse most likely to be encountered is deliberate or **blatant**. Sometimes more sophisticated or “socially creative” arguments are made on such sites, and there is a tactical dimension to their rhetoric. Douglas (2005) shows that, while their (exclusive) attitudes are blatant, the arguments supporting these attitudes can be masterfully crafted to deceive (e.g., by creating the impression they are socially justified and broadly shared by many people). This type of racist discourse is likely the predominant one in the current context of widespread technology use and highly tensioned intergroup relationships. These sites are currently proliferating so fast, it is virtually impossible to estimate their numbers (Perry and Olsson, 2009).

Alternatively, when racist discourse is communicated by a single individual (as, for example, on a forum or a news commentary website), the type of racism expressed is often of a **subtle** nature, possibly due to fear of exposure or retaliation in a public forum. There is an opportunistic element to this type of communication made by a single individual.

The nature and expression of contemporary racism has been shaped by both socio-economical and historical factors (societal forces), and individual factors (Dovidio, 2001). Social psychologists talk about racial prejudice as shaped by historical factors, that is, contemporary racism is seen as developing from normal social process, and it is described as a multi- dimensional construct that includes implicit (unconscious) elements as well as subtle expressions, which

are regulated by the social context. The goals of racist discourse can be also mapped along the same dimensions to include goals that are:

- Intentionally racist—where the message is communicated with the explicit goal to hurt, harm or discredit a member of a different ethnic group or a whole group; [SEP]
- Strategically racist—where racist discourse is used to make a point that is part of a broader argument designed to persuade the public, or gain political support and [SEP]
- Unintentionally racist—where the communicators are not aware or are uncaring that their arguments have a racist impact. [SEP]

Cyber racism narratives may be categorised as blatant or subtle, intentional, strategic or unintentional depending on the source of the communication and the aims of the authors. The following sections will further explore the discursive strategies used by racists to achieve their goals.

4.5.1. The Use of Identity Rhetoric to Target Minority Groups

Conceptually, cyber racism integrates:

- a) the communication medium (the Internet); [SEP]
- b) the content of this communication (racial hatred); [SEP]
- c) the sources of the communication/the groups or individuals that generate the content (white supremacist and others) and
- d) the targets of the communication.

In terms of the targets of racist communication, racism occurs against almost all existing ethnic groups around the world, including, for example, anti-

Indigenous (in Australia and Canada, etc.), anti-Semitic, anti-African American (mostly in the USA), anti-Indian and Pakistani (in UK), anti-Hungarian (in Romania), anti-Arab and anti-Muslim (in much of Europe). In Australia, particular minority groups have traditionally been more targeted than others, including Asians and Indigenous Australians. However, the current socio-political climate contributes to an increasingly strong wave of anti-Muslim sentiment. Middle Easterners, North Africans, South East Asians and others are now most frequently attacked on religious grounds.

The justification for the targeting of these groups is based on “identity rhetoric.” Analyses of both racist and anti-racist identity rhetoric (Bliuc et al. 2012; Faulkner and Bliuc 2016) have documented the emergence of specific narratives designed to align contrasting identities (e.g., white Australian/racist versus multicultural Australian/anti-racist) to an “ideal,” representative Australian identity. Narratives on both sides are under-pinned and shaped by particular key dimensions, including identity content, in-group position, norms, values and behaviours that are all portrayed as being representative of a true Australian identity.

Research by Bliuc and colleagues (Bliuc et al. 2012) on the role of contrasting opinion-based groups in the context of the 2005 Cronulla riots in Sydney illustrates this point well. The Cronulla riots were instigated by a crowd of approximately 5000 mostly white, English-speaking young men who were initially protesting against what they saw as the unacceptable behaviour of a group of young Lebanese Muslim men at Cronulla beach (Noble, 2009). This

protest turned into an ethnically motivated riot where the crowd went on a rampage, attacking anyone of Middle Eastern appearance. An analysis of online rhetoric around these riots from both supporters of the riots (promoting racist and exclusive views of Australian identity) and opponents of the riots (promoting anti-racist and inclusive views of Australian identity) shows how rhetorical strategies are used by opinion-based groups with the purpose of achieving dominance in society.

This argument is consistent with the concept that one way to achieve societal dominance and consensus about who should be included as part of the national identity is by imposition of the definition of one group's category over alternative definitions (Wallwork and Dixon, 2004). This involves constructing and reconstructing the relationship between the nation and identity in order to establish "a consonance between the nature of the categories used by a speaker and the constituency that the speaker is attempting to mobilise" (Reicher and Hopkins 2000, p. 75). The use of identity rhetoric by cyber racists aims to situate particular identities as a preferable part of the national identity narrative while undermining identities in targeted groups.

4.6. Building Cyber Racist Communities

The promotion of identity narratives that use cyber racism to undermine targeted groups is reliant on the narrative being spread and adopted by members of the general public. Research by Bliuc et al. (2016) has identified two key strategies used to achieve this:

1. building online communities of support through intragroup interaction (i.e., engaging like-minded people and the broader public through the use of images, videos, emoticons and likes) and
2. developing and putting forward sophisticated ideological arguments through intergroup interaction (i.e., engaging the other side in debates about race in virtual locations such as blogs and discussion sites that enable the communication and debate of complex and lengthy arguments).

Online interactions seek to build consensus and create a sense of community for people who share racist views to varying degrees. They are often carefully designed to create the impression that they promote widely supported views: markers of support are used to legitimise racist views. This strategy is primarily used to disseminate simple but powerful messages to the online audience, effectively validating already existing views (therefore strengthening the commitment of people who are already racist).

For example, if we examine the Twitter account of Pauline Hanson, leader of the Australian political party One Nation, we can see how videos, images and slogans are effectively used to further develop and endorse her radical anti-Muslim stance that preceded her 2016 election to the Australian Parliament. The following simple and powerful message posted in mid-December 2016 (after the Berlin Christmas market attack) received 423 replies, 835 re-tweets and 1.7K likes: “You only have to look at the horrors being committed by Islamic terrorists today in Europe to understand why we must ban Muslim immigration.” Although brief, this message is opportunistic and in line with

Hanson's position. Hanson uses it to further strengthen her stance and sustain her elaborate anti-Muslim narrative. It represents an effective way to capitalise on the public's emotions elicited by this event (e.g., disbelief, grief and, in particular, fear and anxiety) to achieve sympathy for the anti-Muslim immigration cause. Hanson is strategic in engaging with existing and potential supporters at an affective rather than at a cognitive level (it is likely that an elaborated, logical and well-informed argument in support of her stance would have been far less effective here).

4.6.1. Developing Sophisticated Ideological Arguments

The second strategy entails the engagement of the public (both supporters and potentially opponents of racism) through much more well-developed and complex narratives. The use of this strategy can be seen as more concerning from a public interest point of view because it has the potential to influence public opinion by being more persuasive to those who feel threatened by the "other" but do not yet have well-formed racist views. The opportunity to present elaborate and detailed narratives that often exploit the very salient tensions in Western societies across the world is particularly daunting. The effectiveness of this strategy rests on its ability to feed on people's insecurities and fears and proposes alternatives to current crises—alternatives which might be impractical to achieve, or even utopian (e.g., Donald Trump's "Muslim ban" (Killalea, 2017)).

Opportunities for social influence within the broader public arena can be seen on blogs that allow comments from both supporters and opponents of racism. For example, if we look at one of the alt-right blogs on BlogSpot, we discover carefully constructed arguments designed to convince readers that the position presented is not only legitimate, but also morally justified. In a blog post by Colin Liddell (a regular alt-right blog contributor) on the “Black Lives Matter” (BLM) movement, the use of suggestive visual imagery, such as caricaturised images of an African American wearing an ancient Egyptian headdress, and photos of a young man (who Liddell claims to be Trump supporter) being attacked by African American youths, serves only as an introduction to the topic. While the gist of the narrative is encapsulated in the image, the “meat” of the narrative is presented in the blog post. Here, the author uses various rhetorical strategies to elaborate his viewpoint. Specifically, to support the point he makes that the BLM movement has double standards, commenting on the motto of BLM he counters that “all lives matter” suggesting this would not apply in the case of the young white man.

In this example, the author seeks to make use of sarcasm, which, in this case, fulfills two purposes: of communicating offensive and hostile content, and of winning approval and sympathy from his readers by making himself appear clever and possessing a sense of humour. Humour is often used online by white supremacists as a rhetorical device primarily because of its strong persuasive potential (Weaver 2010, 2011). It is a communicative device that supports concepts of “race truth” (Weaver, 2013) and has been shown to increase tolerance to racism in the public arena (Ford and Ferguson 2004).

Using terminology from the disciplines of logic and rhetoric, so his arguments seem rational and well supported by evidence, Liddell defends his viewpoint by attacking the “false premises” that the BLM movement has at its basis (according to the author).

In his words:

Because it is based on *two* false premises, BLM is incapable of generating anything else besides the kind of hatred that we see here. The first premise is the standard, biologically illiterate Leftist one, namely that all races are essentially equal, identical, and interchangeable. With this as a foundational starting point, the only logical explanation for Black inequality—in terms of poverty, crime, and arrests—must be down to “imaginary white “racism.” (...). The other false premise is the characteristically Black one of Black supremacism, which we in the Alt-Right deride as “We Wuz Kangz.” Roland Martin (...) is a prime exponent of this ludicrous view that holds that Blacks founded a great civilization on the banks of the Nile, but were somehow incapable of founding one on the banks of the Limpopo, Vaal, Zambezi, Congo, or Niger.

While the authors of such posts (which are found not only on blogs, but also on other virtual spaces such as forums, chat rooms and Facebook) can present to the public elaborated expositions of their arguments, the public also has the opportunity to respond and therefore actively participate in the discussion. This

is a strategic process of consensus building within the alt-right community that can create the impression to members and supporters that constructions of racism are based on a consensus-building collective process. However, these spaces are deeply hierarchical, so opposition or even slight disagreement can be swiftly silenced (through ridicule and abuse, if not through outright censorship by the blog owners). This strategy is effective because by allowing debate it creates the (false) impression of a fair dialogue and democratic participation. It is false because in reality, alternative or contrasting views are not present in these spaces through either self-exclusion or censorship.

This process of discursive, (apparently) participative construction of racism in virtual spaces has also been detailed by Atton (2006) in relation to the British National Party (BNP). The ideological narrative of BNP is one characterised by anti-multicultural, anti-equality and anti-freedom views; it uses the “language of progressive media” to claim it engages and encourages its members to engage in cyber activism. However, it is what Atton calls “authoritarian populism” (p. 583) that is exercised to ensure their views are not contested in online spaces. What BNP proposes:

is very different from the cyber activism found within progressive social movements. The activism promoted by the BNP is centralized and party- based. It does not encourage its members to use the Internet as a tool for protest, to make direct contact with its opponents (whether construed as the “politically correct” ideologues of New Labour, or the

Othered ethnic minorities against which the BNP sees itself as struggling). (p. 583)

4.6.2. Moral Disengagement Strategies

Increasingly subtle expressions of racism are often found in online open spaces of debate such as news commentary websites. In such places, blatant racist views are likely to be censored by moderators, but also due to the likelihood of a mixed audience it might seem more effective for racists to present more moderate or “mainstream views.” (If strong blatant racism is expressed in moderate forums, there is a possibility of alienating “emerging radicals,” or people who currently hold moderate views but have the potential of developing into fully edged racists).

“Moral disengagement” has been described as a key strategy used by online racists in subtle cyber racism narratives (Faulkner and Bliuc 2016). Moral disengagement is a concept that was initially proposed by Bandura (1999, 2002) who distinguishes between several main categories of moral disengagement:

1. *Framing the harmful action or behaviour to appear moral*—this strategy can manifest as moral justification when the “pernicious conduct is made personally and socially acceptable by portraying it as serving socially worthy or moral purposes” (Bandura 2002, p. 103); advantageous comparison when harmful behaviour is compared favourably to some other unethical example; or

euphemistic labeling, when the harmful behaviour is reframed using “sanitizing language.”

2. *Minimising the perpetrators’ role in causing harm* (displacement of responsibility)—this strategy operates by obscuring or minimising the perpetrators’ role in committing the harmful behaviour. For instance, claiming the harmful behaviour was imposed by an authority or dictated by a particular situation (so taking the responsibility away from the person engaging in the harmful behaviour—“I had to do it, it was not my choice”). In addition, the responsibility for the harmful behaviour can be diffused by highlighting how other people contributed to, or were complicit in, the harm (moving from personal to collective responsibility).

3. *Reframing the victim as deserving of the harmful action* (assigning blame to the victim, denigrating the victim)—this strategy operates by shifting the focus from the perpetrator of a harmful behaviour to the victim of that behaviour. Specifically, in using this strategy to avoid a sense of moral guilt, perpetrators of harmful behaviours may dehumanise their victims, or blame them for being the ones causing the harm to themselves.

This framework of analysis can be effectively applied to understand how subtle discursive strategies are used in online spaces that allow for debate and elaboration of arguments to occur. For example, moral disengagement has been used extensively in racist arguments in relation to an incident where a young girl racially abused Indigenous AFL player Adam Goodes during a game. The

“Adam Goodes incident” occurred during a 2013 AFL game in which a 13-year-old female spectator called him an “ape”. Goodes overheard the slur while playing and pointed the girl out to security; police subsequently escorted her from the field. Goodes described the racial slur as “shattering” and very hurtful (Windley, 2013). Our analysis of comments about the Adam Goodes incident on the websites of two Australian newspapers reveals that when arguing their viewpoints, commentators who promoted racist views were more likely to use moral disengagement strategies (in comparison with those commentators who promoted anti-racist views).

For example, racists were more likely to reframe the harmful action (of insulting Adam Goodes) to appear moral compared to anti-racists. Their strategies included euphemistic labeling, that is, attempting to make the racist act appear moral by using sanitising language that relabeled the act as “name-calling,” and not racism. Some extracts from online comments illustrate this point well:

“Call it racism or just call it name calling what the heck...it’s just name calling. It’s been going on since time immemorial.”

“Don’t condone what the girl said at all, but I do query whether it is verbal or racial abuse.”

“Did you ever say anything foolish as a teenager? No? Liar! Is this the way we want to treat every teenager who calls someone a name? Seriously?”

Attempts to make the racist (harmful) incident seem less morally dubious were made by comparing the incident to other incidents that could be classed as even less moral, such as drug use in the sport:

The AFL, like the media will make a mountain out of a molehill. You go on about silly things like this. What about the pathetic excuse for a drug policy the AFL has. Young kids will use drugs because their hero players do and they get 3 strikes. Come on AFL; prove you care on all fronts not just racial vilification.

In some cases, racist commentators used examples of more extreme harmful and morally problematic behaviour to make their point:

It also noted with interest that there are some on this forum that condemn this little girl and apparently the culture from which she comes, but are quick to excuse the ideology of two murders in London who CUT A SOLDIER'S HEAD OFF (spinning my finger around my ear with abandon right now).

Other examples of using moral disengagement strategies in discourse around the Adam Goodes incident included:

A) Minimising the perpetrator's role:

It's a kid for goodness sakes, let's not lose sight of that, yes it was wrong, yes she has been escorted from the ground blah blah blah, but

keep it in perspective people, she's reportedly 14 years old I'm sure she's learnt her lesson by now.

B) Assigning blame to the victim:

If Adam Goodes chooses to grow a beard that makes him look like an ape. Then what does he expect. Since when is ape a racist word? I guess we all need a racist wordbook. Adam Goodes is nothing but a big bully (hope that is not a racist word) picking on a child, (...) picking on children in my book is a big no no.

C) Denigrating the victim:

Unbelievable over-reaction. I don't believe people should be racist but surely Goodes should harden up a bit!! Give me a break!!

Opportunities provided on platforms where racists can strategically communicate in highly visible online forums allow massive public exposure of cyber racism discourses and potential for influence. Their arguments can enter the mainstream through mere exposure to vast audiences. Moreover, this liability is enhanced when these discursive strategies are successful not only in making the perpetrator feel better, but also in persuading the audience that particular racist acts are morally acceptable.

4.6.3. Racial Microaggression and Hidden Harmful Effects

The casual nature of cyber racism such as that expressed towards Adam Goodes hides the potential harmful effects in people who experience it. In studying casual racism in psychology, Sue and colleagues (Sue 2007, 2017) have proposed a very useful taxonomy of racial microaggressions (defined as “brief and commonplace daily verbal, behavioural, or environmental indignities, whether intentional or unintentional, that communicate hostile, derogatory, or negative racial slights and insults toward to the target person or group” (Sue et al. 2008, p. 273). The term “racial microaggressions” was first introduced by Pierce in the 1970s, to refer to those “subtle, stunning, often automatic, and non-verbal exchanges which are ‘put downs’” (Pierce et al. 1978, p. 66). According to Sue et al. (2008), racial microaggressions can take the form of:

1. Microassaults (i.e., explicit racial derogation meant to hurt the victim through name-calling, avoidant behaviour or intentional discrimination) - the closest form to old-fashioned racism;
2. Microinsults (i.e., communications that convey rudeness and insensitivity, and demean a person’s racial heritage or identity) and
3. Microinvalidations (i.e., communications that exclude, negate or nullify the thoughts, feelings and experiences of a person from a diverse cultural background).

In analysing those different forms of microaggressions in the Australian context, Sue and colleagues (2008) identified a number of distinct themes, some of which can also be found in cyberspace:

1. “Alien in one’s own land”—the underpinning message is that people who are not white Australian are not “true blue, real Australians”; they will always be foreigners—even Aborigines can be invalidated in this way;
2. “Ascription of intelligence” or other stereotypical characteristics—this type of microaggression represents the enacting of a particular stereotype as, for example, being surprised of the achievements of a person of Aboriginal background;
3. “Colour blindness”—this relates to the minimalising or denying the right of cultural difference as, for example, when referring to immigrants from Muslim countries as incapable of integrating and appreciating the “Aussie way of life”;
4. “Denial of individual racism”—this form is often found as a preamble of openly racist statements as, for example, “I am not racist, I am even married to an Asian, but I have participated in the Cronulla riots” and
5. “Myth of meritocracy”—the underpinning message is, for example, that immigrants are coming to Australia because they want to get a free ride (the same type of argument is often made in the context of the Syrian refugee crisis in Europe).

In terms of the effect on their targets, these types of subversive racist discourse are likely to be, in some instances, even more harmful than blatant racism (Chakraborty and McKenzie 2002; Clark 1999; Collins and Williams 1999;

Williams and Collins 1995; Williams and Wyatt 2015). There is strong support that microaggressions are particularly harmful when experienced on a daily basis—which is further enabled by living in an increasingly connected and online world. For instance, a study by Solorzano (2000) on the experiences of African Americans targeted by microaggressions found the cumulative effects of those experiences can be very damaging (Sue et al. 2008). They found that experiences of microaggressions lead to an increase in self-doubt, frustration and feelings of isolation, all indicators of decreased well-being.

4.7. Conclusion

This chapter has demonstrated that a key aim of the authors of cyber racism is to influence national identity narratives, both by reinforcing racially focused national identities, and fragmenting the identities and communities of those they detest. By developing their arguments around race, culture and attitudes to diversity, different segments of, for instance, Australian society are attempting to align themselves to the valued social category of national identity, so they come to constitute the “truest” representation of Australian identity. These contested narratives are constructed in nation-states in the context of the history and politics of a nation. They are primarily about decisions of inclusion or exclusion of different races, cultures and religions in the national identity narrative. The perpetrators of cyber racism put forward arguments based on white nationalist views that aim to strengthen their position in relation to national identity narratives and legitimise cyber racism.

Cyber racism can be perpetrated by members of white power or alt- right groups who use more blatant forms of cyber racism with complex and strategic arguments, or individuals who may use increasingly subtle forms of cyber racism to express their exclusionary and racist attitudes against particular targeted groups and individuals. Online communities of racists are built and sustained through the use of a variety of discursive techniques including identity rhetoric, development of sophisticated ideological arguments and moral disengagement strategies. Subversive racist discourse (microaggression) in particular has been shown to have a severe negative impact on targets.

The Internet and social media have central roles in enabling cyber racism narratives and the proliferation of the accompanying messages. Racists (particularly those who identify themselves as white supremacists) have taken full advantage of the affordances that the Internet and social media platforms provide. They are adept at using new and emerging technologies and effective at getting their message across to the general public. Their attempts to influence people who may support multiculturalism but are fearful of migrants (because of contextual factors like terrorist attacks) are particularly strategic. They are likely to prove successful in some cases, and this represents a threat to those versions of identity narratives that aim to promote the values of diversity, fairness and integration.

Given how peoples' world views are constituted through the narratives and discourses they imbibe and reproduce, understanding cyber racism is crucial to countering its proliferation. The next chapter introduces the first case study,

which further contributes to understanding about cyber racism through an examination of a cultural exclusion narrative on an Australian Facebook page.

CHAPTER FIVE

CASE STUDY ONE

FACEBOOK: A NARRATIVE OF CULTURAL EXCLUSION

5.1. Introduction

This chapter presents the first of two cyber racism case studies. The results of this case study were introduced in Chapter Four and have previously been published in an article for a special edition of *Sites: A Journal of Social Anthropology and Cultural Studies*⁴. This article is reproduced here with some minor changes. The special edition of *Sites* emerged from an international anthropology conference held in New Zealand in 2014. The theme of the conference was ‘Peripheral Cosmopolitanisms’ and its aim was to explore the various notions and experiences of cosmopolitanism within nation states. This article met this aim by focusing on the way the reproduction of a cultural exclusion narrative on social media undermines cosmopolitanism in Australia.

This article follows a standard format. The *abstract* introduces the article and outlines the argument. The *background* section describes cosmopolitanism and its relevance to Australian multiculturalism and cultural exclusion narratives.

The *methods* section describes how the research for this case study was

⁴ Connelly, K. (2016). Undermining Cosmopolitanism: Cyber-Racism Narratives in Australia. *Sites*, 13(1), 156–176.

conducted. The *results* section gives the findings, including the narrative of exclusion on this Facebook page. Finally, the *discussion* explores the basis of the cultural exclusion narrative, how it is reproduced and how it undermines cosmopolitanism. To maintain consistency, all four case study reports in this thesis will follow a similar format to this article.

5.2. Article Abstract

Cyber racism is a relatively new and yet increasingly pervasive form of racism that adds another dimension to the proliferation of race hate. Multi-cultural countries such as Australia share a concern for the effective development of online strategies to alleviate this problem. Using a narrative approach, this research investigates an Australian Facebook page that has been reported to the Online Hate Prevention Institute (OHPI) as racist. Specifically explored is how the narrative on this Facebook page impacts on cosmopolitanism as a worldview that encourages and sustains productive engagement with cultural difference. While Facebook offers the potential for cosmopolitan engagement, the findings of this research show that the worldview perpetuated on this page is one of cultural exclusion, undermining the prospect of cosmopolitanism in Australia.

5.3. Background

This article explores how a narrative associated with cultural difference on an Australian Facebook page impacts on cosmopolitanism as an ideal and

everyday practice that underpins multiculturalism. Cosmopolitanism is an overarching philosophical or ideological concept that encompasses social relations in a complex and culturally diverse world (Jakubowicz, 2011b). Beck (2002) argues that interaction with cultural difference in multicultural societies is inevitable and that embracing cultural difference is the ideological aim of cosmopolitanism. However, Beck's view has been criticised for failing to recognise the lived experience for many people in the world today (Skrbis et al., 2004; Werbner, 2008). People's lived experiences happen at a local level, and many argue that cosmopolitanism must be recognised within the context of the local, within existing nation states (Onyx, Ho and Edwards, 2011; Skrbis et al., 2004; Werbner, 2008). Werbner (2008) points out that nation states are autonomous in the way they operate and may have different ways of interacting with cultural difference based on the context in which it is encountered.

A contextually grounded cosmopolitanism acknowledges the way that different cultures are interpreted and engaged with by the dominant culture within nation states. The lived experience of people in multicultural societies demonstrates that 'individuals of different cultures [are] routinely negotiating across difference in order to coexist within a shared social space' in their everyday life (Onyx et al., 2011, p. 50). Cosmopolitanism from this perspective can therefore be understood as the 'willingness to accommodate other cultural groups in the larger population' (Calcutt, Woodward and Skrbis, 2009, p. 73). This understanding allows for the consideration of different levels of engagement with cultural difference (Onyx et al., 2011). The focus of the

ideology of cosmopolitanism then shifts from embracing cultural difference to productive engagement with cultural difference within a given context.

Exploring how and why productive engagement with cultural difference is encouraged or undermined gives insight into the reality of social relations in multicultural societies.

As described in Chapter Four, on the surface it appears multiculturalism is supported in Australia. Research looking at attitudes to multiculturalism shows a consistently high level of support, with recent surveys showing over 83% of people agreeing that ‘multiculturalism has been good for Australia’ (Markus, 2016). However, there are differing levels of support for engagement with cultural difference. Some believe in an approach that more closely resembles cosmopolitanism as a two-way process involving both Australians and migrants productively engaging with cultural differences, while others believe it is solely up to migrants to adapt to Australian culture. At the other end of the spectrum are the 15% who do not support multiculturalism at all (Markus, 2016).

As previously described (in Chapter Four), this variability of attitudes can be understood in the context of Australia’s heritage as a white colonial nation that has (to varying degrees) maintained a worldview that privileges people from a white (British) background. Whiteness theorists (e.g. Hughey and Byrd, 2013, Niemonen, 2010) have different explanations about the mechanisms that lead to such a worldview, and others also question the validity of such analyses. However, it is generally accepted in Australia that a white background brings

with it highly revered cultural values such as democracy and freedom, and leads to privileges that have become enshrined in the structure, institutions, and psyche of the nation (Hage, 2002; Perera, 2005). A British (Irish or Scottish) background allows automatic inclusion in the category of white Australian, while migrants and Indigenous Australians with other cultures and practices are generally judged as less civilised and treated as inferior by white Australians. Over time migrants can also be included in the category of white if they are judged as fitting in to the dominant Australian culture (Perera, 2005). The degree to which different migrant groups and Indigenous Australians are productively engaged with and accepted is dependent on the political climate and the perceived level of threat to the dominant white Australian culture (Hage, 2002; Pedersen et al., 2012).

Examining the extent of engagement with cultural difference on an Australian Facebook page gives insight into narratives that promote a specific worldview. With almost 1.5 billion users worldwide and a mission to ‘give people the power to share and make the world more open and connected’, Facebook has the potential to facilitate the diffusion of a worldview that encourages productive engagement with cultural difference (Facebook, 2015; Statistica, 2017b). Sharing experiences and creating connections on social media platforms such as Facebook could potentially contribute to positive community identity and cultural inclusion. However, Facebook is also a powerful tool for the spread of narratives based on the rejection of some minority cultures from the dominant culture (cyber racism). The narrative of cultural inclusion and exclusion on the Facebook page examined in this research represents a form of

cyber racism expressed by a small but growing community. It will be argued that this narrative undermines productive engagement with cultural difference by perpetuating a worldview promoting cultural exclusion.

5.4. Methods

This research focuses on an Australian Facebook Community Page that was reported to the Online Hate Prevention Institute's (OHPI) Fight Against Hate site as having racist content. To satisfy ethics requirements, all data have been de-identified and the specific Facebook page examined is referred to here only as 'Facebook Page1'. The OHPI is an independent organisation whose main aim is to monitor online hate, including racist hate. The OHPI encourages people to report content that they believe is racially offensive to the platform (e.g. Facebook) in the first instance (OHPI, 2012). If it is not removed, they then encourage people to report it to their reporting tool

FightAgainstHate.com, so that they can bring these examples into the public domain (OHPI, 2015). OHPI have provided examples of racist sites for this research that have been reported by the public and not removed. Facebook Page1 is the first of such pages examined in this research.

With over 58,500 likes at the time of this research (which is equivalent to 4.2% of the approximately 13,800,000 then-current Australian Facebook users (Cowling, 2017), Facebook Page1 represents a significant group of people. It should be noted that it is not known if all of the people who interact on this page are Australian, but initial investigation shows they most likely make up

the majority. It is also difficult to determine the ethnic backgrounds, social classes and ages of this group. It seems possible they come from the previously mentioned 15% of people who do not support multiculturalism in Australia, but this cannot be verified. People who have liked this page are regarded as followers and may choose to receive all of the posts on this page in their news feed. Posts on this page are made regularly and have a potentially even wider reach with some being shared by over 120,000 people. The aim of community pages such as Facebook Page1 is to build a community of people who ‘share similar interests and experiences’ (Facebook 2015b) through the posts on the page. The administrators of the page are the authors of the posts, which are usually in the form of a photo or picture with a short comment either superimposed or above the photo or picture. These posts facilitate narratives that other people then engage with through, likes, shares and comments. Each narrative is shaped and gains momentum through this engagement, thereby further building this community.

The analysis featured in this article focuses on the shared narrative of the authors of Facebook Page1 in relation to their worldview about cultural difference and how this worldview is perpetuated. Identifying the shared narrative involves constructing it from posts made on the page and putting it into context. For the analysis of Facebook Page1, the beginning of the narrative is the start of the research period, 1 May 2015, and the end of the narrative is the end of the research period, 31 October 2015 (inclusive). The posts in between these dates will be used to construct a narrative about Facebook Page1’s engagement with cultural difference. Themes were identified based on

the question of who is included or excluded on the basis of cultural difference. These themes will also be examined in terms of the context of the worldview of the authors of Facebook Page1 and worldviews present in Australian society.

5.5. Results

5.5.1. The Australian way of life

According to one of the administrators of Facebook Page1, the overall narrative of this page is about preserving the 'Australian way of life'. The 'About' section of the page claims the page was started on 26 January 1788, which is the date Australia was colonised. This suggests that the authors perceive the Australian way of life as stemming from a white, colonial background, and their worldview is grounded in a history that places precedence on the white hegemonic colonial history of Australia. Critical race theorists Delgado and Stefancic (2012) argue that such worldviews are motivated by an interest in enshrining the privileges of the dominant group, in this case white Australians. It can be assumed, therefore, that the authors of Facebook Page1 claim authority on the basis that they represent those white Australians who believe they have the right to protect their existing privileged position.

The authors of the page aim to build a Facebook community that shares a narrative promoting the preservation of a particular privileged white version of the Australian way of life. The analysis of this narrative is based on the

identification of posts that fit into two distinct categories. ‘Symbolic boundaries’, that is, divisions based on culturally desirable values, which are evidenced by specific modes of behaviour, as described in the posts, form the basis of these categories (Voyer, 2013). For the authors of Facebook Page1, community members who accept and adopt the version of the Australian way of life that is promoted in the posts hold culturally desirable values and fit into one category. This includes people who positively comment on, like and share these posts. Conversely, those who are regarded by the authors as not accepting and adopting their version of the Australian way of life are portrayed as having culturally undesirable values and fit into the other category. This latter category also includes people who disagree with the narrative put forward on Facebook Page1.

5.5.2. Inclusion Based on Desirable Cultural Values

The first post from Facebook Page1 that I will discuss is an image featuring a person standing with their back to the viewer and set against the backdrop of the sky and clouds. The person’s unclothed back is covered with a painting of the Australian flag, which includes the British Union Jack. Bold, capitalised letters read: ‘I SUPPORT OUR TROOPS, I SUPPORT OUR VETERANS. I AM A PATRIOT, I AM AN AUSTRALIAN!!!’ This post represents the most prominent desirable cultural value promoted on this page. Patriotism is defined by the authors of Facebook Page1 as vigorously supporting your country and being prepared to defend it against its enemies, foreign and domestic. Other

posts on the page show strong support for veterans and promote the idea that it is patriotic to fight for your country.

This fits in with a narrative that has developed in Australia, especially after the Gallipoli battles of World War I, linking national pride with values associated with war (Jakubowicz and Icduygu, 2015). The Australian soldier is revered for having ‘courage, resourcefulness, endurance and intelligent initiative’ (p. 69). For the authors of Facebook Page1, these qualities or behaviours demonstrate culturally desirable values that should be encouraged. Anyone who displays or supports these values and supports ‘our troops’ and ‘our veterans’ is included in the narrative about the Australian way of life.

Facebook Page1 is updated regularly with posts related to patriotism and supporting Australian troops and veterans. These posts include phrases that promote the relentless pursuit of those who threaten ‘their people’ and highlight sacrifices made by Australian soldiers so others may live. The Australian flag also features in many posts as a symbol of patriotism. These posts are engaged with through comments, likes and shares, with many receiving more than a thousand likes and several hundred comments. This engagement works to build the narrative about patriotism and give it impetus. Other culturally desirable values that are promoted, although less prominently, include mateship, a love of sport, beer drinking, following Australian law, and embracing Australia’s diverse landscape. The following post substitutes words in the iconic Australian poem ‘My Country’ written in 1908 by Dorothea

McKellar (2016) to draw on well-known images and modes of behaviour that add to the narrative about Australian culture:

I love a sun smart country
A land where cricket reigns
A land where green and gold singlets
Are adorned with red sauce stains.
I love her sense of mateship
I love her diversity
Her beaches and her bulldust
They all spell home for me.

People who embrace these desirable cultural values are also included as part of the narrative about the Australian way of life. Images portraying these values are repeated through posts on Facebook Page1 and comments that show enthusiasm for the posts further promote this narrative.

5.5.3. Exclusion Based on Undesirable Cultural Values

Other posts on Facebook Page1 highlight a narrative that represents an intolerant approach towards anyone who is not prepared to adopt all aspects of their version of the Australian way of life or who poses a threat to that narrative. Posts on the page vilify or ridicule people from backgrounds they believe do not conform to the authors' view of desirable cultural values,

particularly those values associated with patriotism. Migrants, especially refugees and those from a Muslim background are the primary targets, but Indigenous and Asian Australians and others who supposedly do not agree with the Facebook Page1's view are also targeted.

For example, one post exemplifies the portrayal of Middle Eastern men (refugees and Muslims) as cowardly. The imagery in this post is split in half. The top half shows armed troops (presumably Australian troops deployed overseas) walking through a barren landscape with text that states: 'Go to war, leave women and children in a safe country.' The bottom half of the image portrays a line of men intended to exemplify Middle Eastern, Muslim refugees. They are dressed in casual clothing, with several of them smiling and one waving. The text here reads: 'Go to a safe country, leave women and children in a war zone.' The implication in this post is that the men in the bottom half of the image do not display behaviour associated with patriotism and therefore should not be included in the narrative about the Australian way of life. Other posts and comments that refer to the men as 'gutless pigs' and that 'every single one of them need bullets' contribute to the idea that this purportedly cowardly behaviour is not tolerated in Australia. Facebook Page1 posts also draw on patriotic values by attempting to create a dichotomy between homeless servicemen and refugees. The suggestion is that accepting refugees somehow detracts from efforts to address homelessness among servicemen in Australia.

Many posts on Facebook Page1 vilify and ridicule Muslims or anyone who looks like they may be Muslim, based on two main themes. The first is that

Muslim cultural practices and values are undesirable, and the second is that Muslims pose a terrorist threat to Australia. An example of the first theme is shown in another image posted on Facebook Page1. This image is again split, with the top half featuring a group of angry looking men, shouting and raising their fists. Bold text reads, 'Before bacon'. The bottom half of the image shows a larger group of what looks like party-goers, laughing and having a good time. The text here says, 'After bacon'. The image is ridiculing the Muslim cultural practice of not eating pork. Comments associated with this post suggest that eating bacon should be a prerequisite for living in Australia. This reflects ethno-religious preferences based on pork consumption, as described by Nelson (1998). Other comments refer to recent Australian pork industry advertising to 'get some pork on your fork' and suggest that Muslims who do this will be more inclined to peace than war.

Several Facebook Page1 posts also emphasize threats of terrorism by highlighting terrorist incidents that have involved Muslims in Australia and elsewhere. For example, one post simply features an image of the front page of the *Herald Sun* (dated January 2015). The cover image is of Man Haron Monis, an Iranian-born Australian citizen who took hostages in a siege at the Lindt Chocolate Café in Sydney on 15 December 2014. Monis is shown in mid-shout, arm raised, with a bold headline reading 'NO LONE WOLF'. This headline implies that there were other people involved in this siege and that the terrorist threat continues. The fear generated through these posts adds weight to the claim that Muslims should not be included in the narrative about the Australian way of life because of the terrorist threat posed by some Muslims.

In addition, this narrative is strengthened by the implication that all Muslims are terrorists. Another Facebook Page1 post features only a simple text box that reads: 'If you are old enough to plot a terror attack then you are old enough to face an adult court and be publicly identified.' In some of the over 600 comments related to this post, which is calling for the naming and shaming of an under-age Muslims accused of a plotting a terrorist attack in Australia, there is a link made between those who perpetrate the terrorist plot and *all* Muslims. Many comments refer not just to the young person who committed the act but include other young people by using terms such as 'they' and 'them' and suggesting 'these people' should be put on a plane and sent back to their countries of origin. One comment from this post sums up the predominant theme on this page of excluding Muslims on the basis that they pose a terrorist threat; it promotes the idea that people from 'that part of the world' should not be given visas because they are born and bred war mongers (terrorists). It suggests their culture should be kept 'where it belongs, in the hell where they live'. The author of the post concludes by saying that Facebook Page1 is proud to associate itself with this racist way of thinking because it wants to keep Australia safe. This post was not only shared by the Facebook Page1 community but was also 'liked' by over 120,000 people, which suggests that these Facebook Page1 narratives are extending beyond the page itself to the general population of Facebook users.

The themes that justify Muslims being excluded from the dominant Australian culture are similar to views about Muslims already circulating in Australia more generally. Despite Muslims having a long history in Australia that pre-

dates European settlement, since the 19th century they have been portrayed as undesirable immigrants who pose a threat to Australia and Western cultural values (Salleh-Hoddin and Pedersen, 2012). Events in the past two decades such as the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks in the US; the Bali bombings, which affected many Australians; and other local acts of terrorism have exacerbated this portrayal and contributed to Muslims being marginalised by the media and other areas of social life.

The repetition of posts on Facebook Page1 that vilify and ridicule people who are accused of having undesirable cultural values and practices builds a narrative that justifies the exclusion of Muslims from the dominant Australian culture. Engagement through comments, likes and shares adds momentum to this. Juxtaposed against this is the inclusion of people who supposedly have culturally desirable values and practices. The intolerant and exclusionary worldview that is promoted is justified on the basis that the authors of the posts have the authority to decide who is included and excluded in the Australian way of life. This worldview is shared by people who regard themselves as part of the Facebook Page1 community and (as previously noted) also extends to the general public through likes and shares, potentially extending the numbers of members of this community.

5.6. Discussion

Despite some early Internet research making claims of a post-racial digital world, Daniels (2012) points out that whiteness permeates cyberspace and that

race and racism exist in all parts of the Internet, including its technological structures, its spaces of interaction such as websites, online games and social media, and even the laws governing the Internet. Tynes, Rose and Markoe (2013) also acknowledge how everyday racism is reproduced on the Internet. In a review of research into cyber racism as part of the CRaCR project, Bliuc, Faulkner and Jakubowicz (Bliuc et al., 2018) explain that racism on the Internet acts as both an avenue for strengthening and expanding existing online racist groups and as an extension of everyday offline racism. Cyber racism shares some characteristics, including the affirming of a unique racial identity that excludes some races, the expression of racial superiority, and/or negative ideas about the concept of ‘otherness’.

While it is difficult to tell if Facebook Page1 is part of an existing overarching online racist group, the narrative of vilification, ridicule and exclusion of people based on perceived different cultural values and practices is an extension of everyday offline racism in Australia and therefore an example of cyber racism. The findings of this research show that the narrative on Facebook Page1 also affirms an identity based on a specific version of the ‘Australian way of life’. People with desirable cultural values are included in this identity, while those with undesirable cultural values are excluded. Racial superiority is demonstrated through the belief that the authors of the page have the right to decide who is included or excluded in the narrative about the Australian way of life. white Australians are mostly included in this narrative, and Indigenous Australians, new migrants (primarily refugees and Muslims) and other people

who do not agree with Facebook Page1's view of Australian values are excluded.

Research in the USA by Bell (2003) shows that such racist narratives or stories are based on already existing historically and culturally constructed themes. Based on transcripts of interviews with college-educated adults who work in the education and human service fields, Bell developed a typology of themes related to racism and counter-racism based on the stories they told. 'People of colour' and a few 'whites' attested to the ongoing existence of racism and affirmed the long history of racial discrimination in the USA, while the rest of the whites minimised or denied racism. Bell (2003) argues that these divergent views of racism reflect the different lived experiences of her participants. In particular, the more extensive 'white' view represents a lack of consideration about how the racist narrative continues in the USA. Bell argues for a greater understanding regarding the history of race relations in the USA to facilitate change.

Bell's (2003) findings are reflected in the narrative on Facebook Page1 that demonstrates the racist views already present in Australian society. As described in Chapter Two, social construction theorists describe the development of racist attitudes in Australia as evolving from 'old racisms' to 'new racisms' (Dunn, Forrest, Burnley and McDonald, 2005). Old racisms, based on social hierarchy and separatism, stem from racist policies and practices that developed after colonisation, such as the disenfranchisement of Indigenous Australians and the white Australia policy (which sought to restrict

the flow of immigrants from non-European countries). After relaxing the restrictions on immigration, new racisms evolved that emphasised cultural difference. According to Pedersen et al. (2012) one of the primary reasons given for intolerance or prejudice against migrants is that they do not share Australian values. They point out that in surveyed communities who hosted Middle Eastern migrants 'twenty-nine per cent of participants noted that there was a perception in the Australian community of a conflict between 'Middle Eastern culture' and 'core Australian values' and/or the concern that Middle-Eastern Australians would not integrate' (p. 5). This illustrates how people and cultural groups with perceived different cultural values and practices have come to be seen by some communities as a threat to (predominantly white) national identity.

The exclusion of people based on this perceived threat to Australian national identity posed through the expression of undesirable cultural values is in distinct contrast to cosmopolitanism. Cosmopolitanism as an ideology calls for cultural inclusion. A worldview based on cosmopolitanism recognises the reality that in multicultural societies with high levels of immigration such as Australia cultural difference is engaged with on a daily basis in many different ways. While this engagement does not necessarily lead to embracing cultural difference as called for by Beck (2002), Onyx et al. (2011) and Calcutt et al. (2009) suggest that it contributes to a perception that cultural difference is natural. It is then possible to develop of a level of trust and understanding that facilitates further cultural acceptance, tolerance and inclusion. This everyday productive engagement with cultural difference potentially contributes to a

harmonious culturally diverse society. However, the worldview put forward in the narrative of Facebook Page1 works against this utopian view of cosmopolitanism by promoting a racist worldview based on disapproval and intolerance.

In addition, the narrative on Facebook Page1 goes further than simply reproducing existing everyday racist worldviews; an aim of its authors is to build a community of people who will perpetuate them. Miller (2011) argues that one of the most significant impacts of social media is in the revival of communities that are built through the ease of interaction available on platforms such as Facebook. Members of these communities interact and spread ideas through likes, shares and comments that not only show up in their own news feeds, but may also show up in their friends' news feeds (depending on the privacy options selected), as well as friends of friends, and so on, thus exponentially increasing the number of people who may read a post and interact with it. This explains how at the time of this research (October 2015) one Facebook Page1 post attracted 120,000 likes, despite the number of followers of the page being 58,000. It also explains how the number of followers of Facebook Page1 has since grown (98,000 in June 2018).

The growth of Facebook communities and the perpetuation of worldviews on the platform may also be reflected in the offline world. Miller (2011) points out that people do not just exist on Facebook, it is just one of the many social networking structures that people are a part of. Miller's ethnographic research in Trinidad shows that Trinidadians have their own unique way of using

Facebook that fits in with their everyday lives. Trinidadian people consider their Facebook friends as part of their social network or community; friends on Facebook are often friends in everyday life. Miller also noted that increased interaction on Facebook has led to increased interaction offline – what happens on Facebook also flows to offline or everyday social activities.

The connection between online interactions and everyday interactions may also apply to the narratives put forward in a community such as Facebook Page1. In a similar way to the Trinidadian case, the narrative on Facebook Page1 may extend to people's everyday lives. It could be argued that these narratives reflect and shape narratives in online communities in a similar way to narratives more generally. Proponents of narrative theory argue that narrative works in a circular fashion: existing narratives reflect a pre-understanding of life, and narratives about life contribute to a more fully developed understanding of life (Bruner, 1991; Lai, 2010; Mattingly, Lutkehaus and Throop, 2008). In a similar manner, narratives about cultural difference in a Facebook community such as Facebook Page1 are likely to add to already existing offline everyday racist narratives, thereby strengthening and potentially normalising them.

5.7. Conclusion

This chapter explores how the narrative on Facebook Page1 reproduces a cultural exclusion narrative and undermines cosmopolitanism. Cyber racism works on Facebook Page1 by setting up a peripheral zone of citizenship in

which some citizens (particularly Muslims) who do not conform to a specific version of 'the Australian way of life', as characterised in the narrative on the page, are excluded from the multicultural ideal which underpins Australia's contemporary engagement with national identity. Racism's persistence in Australian society and its rapid digital evolution into cyber racism troubles the notion that multiculturalism as a social organising framework for society can offer safety and inclusion for all citizens. While cosmopolitanism promotes cultural tolerance, acceptance and inclusion, the worldview promoted on Facebook Page1 promotes the opposite view, reproducing everyday cultural exclusion narratives. It therefore undermines the prospect of cosmopolitanism in Australia.

CHAPTER SIX

CASE STUDY TWO

TWITTER: A NARRATIVE OF DENIAL AND DISEMPOWERMENT

6.1. Introduction

This chapter presents the second cyber racism case study. This case study involves Indigenous Australians, the group most likely to be the target of cyber racism in Australia (as identified in the 2013 CRaCR survey (Jakubowicz et al., 2017, p. 75)), and Twitter, one of the most used platforms in Australia. In particular, this case study focuses on the vilification of a prominent Indigenous Australian, Adam Goodes; a champion Indigenous Australian Football League (AFL) player, the 2014 Australian of the Year, and a campaign Ambassador for *Racism It Stops With Me* (Australian Human Rights Commission, 2017a).

Adam Goodes has been the subject of racist vilification on social media for several years. The research in Chapter Four described the way moral disengagement is used as a way to justify such racism. This case study further extends understanding about racism against Goodes by focusing on a Twitter narrative that accuses him of being a ‘flog’ (a self-centered person) at the same time as it claims these same accusations are not about race and therefore not racist. This denial narrative occurs despite an obvious race or culturally

related connection between an increase in Goodes's vilification and events that he has been involved in.

This case study explores the use of the Australian slang term 'flog' in tweets about Goodes. The focus will be on an event where Goodes performed an adaptation of an Indigenous war-cry dance to celebrate a goal that he kicked during an AFL match in the Indigenous round in 2015. The Twitter narrative of vilification of Goodes related to this event will be explored in the context of the cultural narrative that contributes to continued racism against Indigenous Australians. This is a narrative that denies the existence of racism against Indigenous Australians and restricts expression of the Indigenous perspective. It will be argued that the racism directed against Goodes is based on a cultural narrative that denies both white and male privilege. It will also be argued that the background and operation of Twitter contributes to the free and widespread proliferation of such worldviews, thereby reinforcing and potentially contributing to their normalisation.

The background section justifies this study's use of Twitter for developing insight into racist narratives and describes how these narratives need to be contextualised within the existing cultural narrative of racism against Indigenous Australians. It explores existing racism in sport generally and in the AFL in particular and describes how this has spread to social media. The results section explores the basis of the Twitter narrative of vilification of Goodes, and the discussion section demonstrates how it reproduces and

potentially normalises existing narratives of the denial of racism against and the disempowerment of Indigenous Australians.

6.2. Background

6.2.1. Twitter Narratives and Cultural Context

Twitter was initially not regarded as worthy of social research because it was considered banal, with tweets representing a “short burst of inconsequential information” about everyday activities (Weller, Bruns, Burgess, Mahrt and Puschmann, 2014, pp. 11-12). However, the emphasis of tweeting has changed from focusing on what people are doing to what is happening. Tweeting often concentrates around events, with tweeters giving commentary and opinion about those events. Twitter is now regarded as an additional and alternative source of news that is generated by citizens, and tweets can now be used by researchers to ‘tell the story’ or narrative of events. Real-time Twitter narratives represent the commentary and opinions of people both on the ground at an event and observing it online. Analysis of these narratives provides insight into tweeters’ interpretations of these events.

Twitter narratives, as with all commentary and opinions, also exist in relation to particular cultural contexts, and deeper analysis of these narratives can reveal how they are related to what was culturally acceptable at the time of an event. Such understanding can give further insight into why some commentaries and opinions become prominent and are perpetuated on Twitter.

As already mentioned, this case study investigates how the cultural narrative that continues to perpetuate racism against Indigenous Australians contributes to the racial vilification on Twitter of Indigenous Australian footballer Adam Goodes. This cultural narrative is embedded in the history of Indigenous and white Australian relations that, as described in Chapter Four, began with colonisation in 1788 and the overarching ideology that the white British colonisers had the right to invade and claim sovereignty over Australia. This sovereignty was founded on the basis of the doctrine of terra nullius (a land without owners), which ignored the prior occupation and rights of Indigenous Australians (Council for Aboriginal Reconciliation, 2001). Subsequent government policies and laws were based on this doctrine until the Mabo legal case in 1992, which overturned the terra nullius doctrine but upheld British sovereignty.

As pointed out in Chapter Four, the ideology that allowed racist policies and laws privileges those people considered ‘white Australian’. As case study one (Chapter Five) shows, the cultural inclusion of other migrants and minority groups has been based on their willingness to adopt white Australian cultural values. In line with this ideology, it has been expected that Indigenous Australians, as a minority group, should also over time have integrated into the majority white Australian cultural category. However, many Indigenous Australians have resisted this push, some choosing to maintain traditional cultural values and distinct social identities (Cowlshaw, 2012; Cowlshaw, 2000; Paradies, 2006b).

Regardless of their willingness to assimilate or become ‘white’, Indigenous Australians continue to be judged by some Australians as less civilised and treated as inferior (Kowal, 2015; Paradies, 2006b). This has led to a cultural narrative that allows sustained and widespread racism against Indigenous Australians. In particular, the attempted subjugation of Indigenous people and culture through government policies such as the forced removal of children from their mothers (the ‘stolen generations’) and the Northern Territory Intervention has led to systemic disadvantage and trauma being experienced in their family and social lives, education, work, and sport (Jakubowicz et al., 2017; Mellor, 2009).

6.2.2. Racism, Australian sport and Adam Goodes

There is a long history in Australia of racism against Indigenous Australian sports players, particularly in the AFL. Judd and Butcher (2016) explain that prior to the 1990s, “racial vilification of Aboriginal peoples became a socially acceptable tactic to put Aboriginal [AFL] players off their game” (p. 71). After Indigenous AFL player Nicky Winmar defiantly lifted his guernsey to the crowd to proudly show his skin colour in response to racism directed towards him in 1995, the AFL authorities introduced ‘Rule 30’ to combat racism and religious vilification in the football code (Gorman and Reeves, 2012). In the case of Goodes, however, they took too long to invoke this rule, and the impact of sustained racism against Goodes over a long period led to him retiring from his AFL career (Judd and Butcher, 2016).

Previous literature on racism against Goodes (e.g. Judd and Butcher, 2016) highlights the way his attempt to assert his own Indigenous cultural perspective, including pointing out racism in AFL football, was met with public dislike. The attitude of the public in this regard reflects and potentially amplifies already existing attitudes that undermine and exclude the Indigenous perspective and elevates the white perspective. Farquarson and Marjoriebanks (2006) argue that “all aspects of society, including sport, are structured so that whites have an advantage over non-whites, and whiteness as an identity is protected and maintained so that its associated privileges are also protected and maintained” (p. 26). The Goodes case demonstrates the way such racial hierarchies are reinforced.

Racial narratives such as these now also permeate social media. Love and Hughey (2015) point out how a dominant racial ideology is reproduced on basketball message boards in the US. Cleland (2014) also notes how UK football fan message boards allow the spread of racist discourses that promote whiteness and national belonging along with hostility towards those who are different, especially Muslims. Similarly, racism against Goodes was not just prominent on the football field, it was also reproduced on social media such as Facebook, Twitter and YouTube (Matamoros-Fernández, 2017).

6.3. Case Study Methods

This case study explores the reproduction of racism against Goodes on Twitter. The researcher downloaded 861 tweets that mentioned the word ‘flog’ (a

derogatory Australian slang word that means someone who likes to exaggerate their self importance (Di Stefano, 2015)) in relation to Adam Goodes, between July 2012 and November 2016, with a focus on 225 tweets related to one AFL game on 29 May 2015. Twitter Analytics was used to identify the tweets and NVivo to analyse word frequencies, highlighting commonly tweeted themes. A close examination of the 225 tweets identified the reasons given for calling Goodes a flog after this AFL game. This part of the analysis also involved an examination of the identity of the tweeters from their Twitter profiles. The Twitter narrative against Goodes in particular and Indigenous Australians more generally was built and contextualised within the wider Australian narrative of denial of racism and exclusion.

6.4. Results

There were 861 tweets examined containing the words ‘Goodes’ and the Australian slang word ‘flog’ from July 2012 to November 2016. Hashtags associated with the term flog during this time include #flog, #stillaflog, #attentionseeking, #attentionseeker, #showboater, and #getyourheadoutofyourass. The meaning as alluded to in the hashtags aligns with the previously described definition of flog as someone who likes to show off and be the centre of attention. In an Australian context if you are considered to be a flog you lack credibility and cannot be taken seriously. The use of the term flog in the tweets against Goodes is a form of vilification where tweeters are expressing their disrespect of Goodes.

Until 23 May 2013, such tweets were fairly uncommon. However, as previously mentioned, they became more frequent after a racist incident in an AFL game on 23 May 2013. The incident involved Goodes pointing out a spectator who called him an ‘ape’ during the game. The spectator turned out to be a 13-year-old girl who was escorted from the stadium by security staff but not charged with any racist offence (Windley, 2013). Goodes later talked to the girl who said she did not know the term ‘ape’ was racist and apologised. Goodes urged the public to support her and to challenge racism in sport. Despite this apparent good outcome, the use of the term ‘flog’ to describe Goodes increased dramatically after this incident. The term was used on social media to describe Goodes in relation to this incident and other prominent issues and events that he was involved in. These included Goodes taking time off after a number of incidents: severe booing during an AFL game, speaking out against Australian Indigenous racism; his description of Australia Day (January 26) as Invasion Day; his award of Australian of the Year in 2014; and his performance of an Indigenous war-cry dance when celebrating a goal in the 2015 Indigenous AFL round.

A closer examination of the Twitter narrative in 225 of the tweets that mentioned Goodes and flog in relation to the Indigenous war cry dance gives some insight into the reasoning (or lack of) behind the tweets. The goal celebration incident occurred during an AFL game on 29 May 2015. It lasted less than a minute and involved Goodes doing a short dance to celebrate a goal he had kicked that ended with him gesturing as if he was holding something in the air (possibly a spear or a boomerang) facing towards the opposition cheer

squad. The celebration occurred during the Indigenous round of AFL and Goodes claimed at the time that it was about showing “passion and pride about being a warrior and representing my people” (ABC, 2018). Some media commentators suggested that it was appropriate for him to celebrate in such a way during the Indigenous round (e.g. Gemmel, 2015). However, at the time there was also a strong negative reaction (including booing) among some opposition spectators at the game and in some media responses (e.g. Booker, 2015).

It can be reasonably assumed that the negative Twitter responses were about the celebration dance, although most of the 225 tweets calling Goodes a flog on this day did not mention it specifically. The narrative contained in these tweets is built by looking at the content of the tweets and the reasoning behind his vilification. An initial analysis shows that more than 80% of the tweets did not give any additional reason for calling Goodes a flog. Some tweets accused Goodes of being self-centered, of making ‘it’ all about him and therefore being a flog. It appears these tweeters believed that the celebration dance in itself was sufficient reason for Goodes to be vilified. A small number of tweets (10%) gave additional reasons, such as his alleged poor football playing (“diving for free kicks”), that he was just out to “cause a stir”, and that he was responsible for more spectators (in addition to the girl in the original incident) being removed from stadiums.

Another 10% of these tweets specifically stated that calling Goodes a flog had nothing to do with race or racism. Some of these tweets addressed Goodes

directly, one claiming that spectators don't boo him because they are racist but because he's an 'absolute flog'. Other tweets were responses to earlier tweets or mainstream media articles (using the @ option) that had overtly made a link between the name calling, this incident and racism. For example, in response to a comment by @tripplemfooty (a radio show about AFL) that suggested the booing was racist, one tweet claimed that Goodes wasn't booed because he's Indigenous but because he's an "all round flog".

6.4.1. The Narrative of Denial

The narrative in these tweets shows an overwhelming disassociation with race or racism. Yet, despite having a clear connection to an Australian Indigenous cultural celebration during the Indigenous round of AFL football, most of the tweets did not mention this at all or denied there was any connection to race or racism. This fits with a general narrative of denial of racism against Goodes in incidents where Goodes has been booed or vilified. Several mainstream media commentators and presenters have exposed this denial narrative, including presenter of the ABC program *The Weekly* (a comedic examination of the weekly news), Charlie Pickering, who gave examples of other how other media commentators and presenters have denied racism despite the clear connection to race or racism in their denials (The Weekly, 2015).

Many members of the mainstream media and general public have used techniques to reframe the vilification of Goodes so that the denial narrative is justified. Faulkner and Bliuc's (2016) research found that perpetrators of

racism against Goodes in online news comments use subtle discursive strategies to justify racism. These include reframing the racism to appear moral (“it’s just name calling”), minimising the perpetrator’s role in causing harm (“they didn’t mean to cause harm) and characterising the victim as deserving of the harm (“he brought it on himself”). Prominent media commentator Andrew Bolt argues that racism against Goodes exists because he highlights his Indigenous origins and the historical racism against his people (Jakubowicz et al., 2017). According to Bolt, Goodes’s identification with a different race from the white majority creates “intergroup conflict by drawing people to identify with a racial group rather than a citizen” (p. 136). The blaming of Goodes for the racism against him also contributes to the denial narrative.

6.4.2. Denial of White and Male Privilege

A further examination of the identities of the tweeters (from their profile photos and names) adds another dimension to the denial narrative: 87% of the tweeters appear to be males, most likely white of European background; 5% appear to be white females of European background, and the rest are unknown. It should be noted that while the categorisation of the tweeters as male or female is likely to be fairly accurate, the designation of ‘white European background’ may be less accurate, although this term would reflect the majority cultural group in Australia. The high percentage of male tweeters putting forward this narrative is significant because it does not reflect the general the population of tweeters, which is likely to be similar to the US – about 50% each male and female (Statistica, 2015). Nor does it reflect the

general population of AFL football followers that attend games, which is approximately 60% male and 40% female (Ward, 2015). It can be argued, therefore, that in this instance of Goodes's celebration dance, the narrative of disassociation from race and racism is unusually high among male tweeters.

These tweeters are effectively dictating to Goodes that this behaviour, which is related to his cultural heritage and background as a minority Indigenous cultural group member, is unacceptable during an AFL game. The tweeters have assumed they have the right and authority to decide which sorts of behaviours are those of a flog. Extending this to the other events and situations in which Goodes has been vilified shows that any behaviour related to his calling out of racism or celebrating his cultural background is likely to further result in him being called a flog.

This finding aligns with that of case study one (Chapter Four), where the administrators and posters on Facebook Page1 believed they have the authority to decide which behaviour should be acceptable as part of Australian culture. Australians with cultural values aligned with those in this supposed authoritative position are included, while those whose values do not align are excluded. Similarly, in the case of Adam Goodes, he is excluded and vilified because he expresses views and values that do not align with the white male European majority of the 225 tweeters examined in this study.

6.5. Discussion

The narrative of disassociation with racism contained in the tweets examined in this research is related to the Australian cultural narrative of denial of racism generally. Dunn and Nelson (2011) note that a new phenomenon is now described in the literature that focuses on denial politics and discourses that deflect or do not mention racism. As described in Chapter Two, one example of this in an Australian context is the Australian Government's denial of any problem with racism in Australia immediately after the ethnically motivated Cronulla riots in 2005. The reasons for this denial are not straightforward. Dunn and Nelson's (2011) research shows that most Australians accept that racism exists, which seems to contradict the denial narrative. However, Dunn and Nelson (2011) also point out that Anglo (or white) privilege is not generally acknowledged by Australians. It could therefore be argued that at a cultural level, the denial of racism protects Anglo (white) Australians from acknowledging cultural privilege and therefore any connection with racism.

With regard to Indigenous Australians, the denial of racism narrative invalidates the Indigenous perspective at every level. As previously mentioned in Chapter Four, the systemic nature of racism against Indigenous Australians means that they have experienced disadvantage in all areas of life, including education, housing, incarceration, health etc. Even now they remain disadvantaged in many of these areas (Kowal, 2015). There are also few opportunities for the Indigenous perspective to be put forward. Instead, those in a position of power (often white Australians) make many decisions about

Indigenous Australians. Consequently, a cultural narrative has developed that privileges the white Australian perspective and downplays the Indigenous perspective. The narrative found in the tweets examined in this research exemplifies this by demonstrating that these white Australians tweeters believe have the authority to decide what is racist in an Indigenous context and which Indigenous cultural values are acceptable. In a similar way to the denial of racism more generally, these tweeters do not recognise their privilege or how it impacts on Indigenous Australians.

The findings of this research also suggest that white males predominantly perpetuate this narrative. This adds another dimension to the denial narrative and aligns with work by theorists such as hooks (1992) who call for an intersectional approach to the study of racism. This approach examines how other social categories such as gender and socio-economic status interact with narratives of racism, with hooks (1992) making connections in racism studies between ideologies of colonisation, white privilege, capitalism, and male privilege. While this current study does not explore all of these categories, there appears to be a connection between white privilege and male privilege in the tweets examined in this research. This connection also relates to Hage's (1998) claim that multiculturalism in Australia is, in practice, white and male multiculturalism. From the findings of this study, it could be argued that the denial of racism by white males replicates the denial of white male privilege that underpins multiculturalism in Australia.

This research also demonstrates how such denial narratives are transmitted and perpetuated on social media. On the surface, social media such as Twitter comes across as neutral and democratic. In terms of reporting events, Twitter allows many different and potentially contested opinions to be expressed. However, Daniels (2012) argues that social media such as Twitter is inherently racist because of its origins and the way it reproduces existing systems of domination. Racism on social media such as Twitter cannot therefore be examined without considering how its background and continued operation interacts with cultural narratives.

Twitter was designed and created in the US by males from a white background (Encyclopedia Britannica, 2017). In a similar way to other institutions and platforms, Twitter therefore has imbedded in its policies and operations cultural narratives that reflect the values of its creators, who represent the majority white privileged cultural group in the US. For example, there is a strong emphasis on freedom of speech and neutrality as overarching cultural values in the Twitter policy (Twitter Inc., 2018). While there is also some mention of privacy and online safety, the focus is on sharing ideas and information without barriers.

This lack of constraint, while encouraging the cultural value of free speech, may disadvantage those from minority groups who are targets of racial vilification. Twitter has its own rules on abusive behaviour but reserves the right to decide if something that is reported violates these rules (Twitter Inc., 2018). While a tweet that is obviously racist may be easy to detect, those that

display a more a subtle type of racism, such as that displayed in the tweets examined in this research, may be more difficult to verify and remove. While Twitter acknowledges the need for context, it would be difficult, if not impossible, for its agents to understand all of the many forms of racism and their contexts.

Matamoros-Fernández's (2017) research into the booing of Goodes on Facebook, Twitter and YouTube demonstrated how social media platforms facilitate racism through "their design, technical affordances, business models and policies". She found that because of the way platforms manage 'sociability', the prioritising of openness and connectedness through sharing contributed to the spread and normalisation of the controversial humour and racist content directed towards Goodes. Similarly, the findings of this current study suggest that the narrative vilifying Goodes was reproduced on Twitter because of the ease of sharing content. Furthermore, the difficulty of identifying racist comments against Goodes and other Indigenous Australians that are not contextualised within the existing cultural narrative of racism in Australia, added to the likelihood that these comments would not be recognized as racist or removed.

6.6. Conclusion

This case study demonstrates that although most of the tweets examined did not specifically mention race or racism, when they are contextualised within the existing Australian cultural narrative they represent a racist view based on

the denial of racism stemming from white male privilege. In this respect, Twitter is no different from other social media platforms in the way it facilitates narratives of racism. As Daniels (2012) argues, social media originates from and replicates current racist systems. In addition, these narratives are spread on social media due to the ease of interaction and the difficulty of determining what is racist without understanding the context. In the Indigenous Australian context, the Twitter narrative of denial of racism in tweets that vilify Goodes perpetuates and contributes to the normalisation of existing cultural narratives that deny white privilege and racism. In addition, the denial of white privilege contributes to the disempowering of the Indigenous Australian voice and to their ongoing disadvantage. The denial of male privilege adds another layer to the denial narrative, thereby replicating the systems of dominance in Australia.

Case studies one and two have revealed how social media reproduces and facilitates cyber racism. This reproduction is likely to add to the known negative consequences of cyber racism, particularly in targeted communities. In addition, the enabling of racism on social media indicates that it is unlikely to be eradicated in the near future. With this in mind, Chapter Seven focuses on how online communities of resistance and solidarity are built and Chapters Eight and Nine (case studies three and four) explore the way social media can also be used by targeted communities to develop resilience to racism.

CHAPTER SEVEN

BUILDING ONLINE COMMUNITIES OF RESISTANCE AND SOLIDARITY

Chapter Seven is the second published book chapter included in this thesis.

This chapter was produced in collaboration with the CEO of the Online Hate Prevention Institute (OHPI), Andre Oboler. As a partner of the CRaCR project Andre and the OHPI's aims align with one of the primary aims of this project to inform the development of strategies to counter cyber racism. This chapter executes an in depth analysis of Australian online communities tackling racism to assist in understanding what sort of strategies are currently used, their strategies and their successes. It particularly focuses on OHPI and IndigenousX. The IndigenousX case is also later further examined in Chapter Nine.

7.1. Introduction

While there has been considerable discussion on the growth of online racism and debate on how it might be curtailed, its continuing expansion suggests a failure of the policy sphere to adequately define and engage with the issues involved. Over the last decade, technological progress has dramatically altered the way we interact, consume news and entertainment, form communities and engage in society (Daniels 2012). It has also redistributed influence from the limited number of producers of traditional media to an unlimited number of

producers on the Internet and social media (Jakubowicz, 2012). The changes have enhanced the capacity of hate advocacy groups to spread their beliefs but, importantly, also transformed the potential for responses that successfully address the wider public on issues of social justice (Jakubowicz, 2012; Connelly 2016).

The technology shift has taken individuals from being mere consumers of content to being producers, curators and broadcasters (Gehl, 2010). Each person is part of multiple online communities, and through their posts, likes, shares, tweets, retweets, comments and e-mails, they play a key role in determining which narratives are spread throughout their communities (Miller, 2011). Building effective online communities of resistance and solidarity requires new approaches and policies, which take into account these new relationships with technology. This will involve working with a wider range of stakeholders from civil society and doing so in new ways.

Traditionally, the policy focus has been on formal channels, and engagement with communities has largely focused on local government, community representative bodies and service provision organisations (Paradies et al. 2009; Office for the Community Sector 2013; Victorian Auditor-General's Office 2015). The problem of online racism, if addressed at all, was seen as an adjunct to racism generally, and the engagement with new technology was focused on marketing (Paradies et al. 2009). There has been a gap in how to deal with online racism, and into this gap have stepped new actors with innovative approaches, reactions, responses and initiatives to address this problem

specifically (e.g., the Online Hate Prevention Institute (OHPI) and IndigenousX). Some have taken place within formal structures, while others, driven by grassroots activism, have stepped outside organised structures. These new approaches are enabled by new technologies and centred on the creation of online communities, either as explicit groups, or as ad hoc communities that form and disperse based on peoples' networks and interactions.

Online communities of resistance and solidarity need the flexibility and energy of activists operating through purpose-driven civil society organisations or leading grassroots action. They also need the formal authority given through the endorsement and support of government agencies, local governments, community service providers and community peak bodies. New policy responses are needed to facilitate the creation of online communities of resistance to cyber racism and solidarity in the face of cyber racism through synergies between different stakeholders and approaches.

In this chapter, we provide a framework for building successful online communities that offer solidarity to their members in the face of online racism. It is worth noting that aspects of this framework work equally well for online hate in general, a term which extends to online homophobia, online misogyny and other forms of online bigotry. The framework looks at:

- . The eight different types of online communities;
- . The types of stakeholders driving or empowering them and

- . A range of proactive and reactive strategies they can adopt to tackle cyber racism.

In addition, the framework is illustrated with examples of each type of community, and two approaches to building online communities of resistance and solidarity from digitally based organisations are presented in depth: one from a civil society organisation focused on the digital space and the other from a grassroots online initiative. This is followed by a look at a civil society organisation, a government agency and a peak body representing a range of communities impacted by cyber racism. We examine how each of these three either is, or has the potential to, contribute to the creation of online communities of solidarity and resistance.

7.2. Online Communities

The Oxford Dictionary defines an online community as “a group of people who regularly interact with each other online, especially to share information and opinions on a common interest” (Oxford Dictionaries 2017). Online communities are more than just channels through which content can be broadcast to an audience. They require a sense of belonging and enough active engagement from community members to make it a shared space and not just a publishing platform for the community manager. The technology itself also has an impact. Members of a community can only engage when they see the content. Yet communities can also appear when their members unknowingly share characteristics that make them vulnerable to cyber attacks.

Facebook artificially limits the number of fans who see a post, but allows the number of viewers to be increased when the page owner pays to “boost” the post (Facebook 2017c). This revenue-raising exercise causes page owners to be selective about the content they push to their audience. Posts can also be boosted to targeted audiences, identified by location, age, gender and interests, who are not existing fans of the page. This can create an *ad hoc* community with both community members and those outside the community actively engaging in discussion on a particular post as well as engaging through likes and shares.

On Twitter, visibility is limited by time. Most people will only see a tweet if they are logged in and paying attention to Twitter or to notifications from Twitter and see the new tweet in real time. The engagement can involve replies, retweets and likes. Twitter also creates *ad hoc* communities around hashtags with people filtering by hashtag, then reading and engaging in the discussion that is linked through the use of that hashtag.

News websites and blogs, which allow user comments, can also develop into communities as people comment not only on the article but also on each other’s comments. Platforms that send an e-mail notification when a comment is replied to facilitate this further. E-mail itself can be used to create communities when the same people are included in multiple discussions. This can be achieved by addressing the e-mail to all, or through the use of a listserve. The use of e-mails with a blind carbon copy (BCC) or a listserve that only allows the list owner to message the list is an example of a channel, which

is prevented from becoming a community, as each recipient can only communicate back to the original sender.

As can be seen, the idea of “regular interaction” stretches from a permanent community, which members feel they are part of; through to an *ad hoc* community appearing around an active online discussion thread on a news article or surrounding a hashtag. In this case, participants may engage in a series of interactions while others look on, and then the *ad hoc* community disbands.

7.3. Types of Online Communities Tackling Racism

Online communities that support resistance to racism and solidarity in the face of racism can be categorised across three dimensions:

1. The **focus** of the community, whether it is *general* and works against all forms of racism or *specific* to racism against a particular target group;
2. The **scope** of the community’s work, whether it is *dedicated* to anti-racism work or the anti-racism work is more *casual* with the community usually focusing on another activity ^[L]_{SEP}
3. The **permanence** of the community, whether it is *ad hoc* in nature or part of an organised structure that intends to be *permanent*. ^[L]_{SEP} There are in total eight variations across these three factors as illustrated in Table 7.1:

Table 7.1 Types of communities tackling online racism

Focus	Scope	Permanence	Examples
specific	dedicated	Permanent	e.g. Islamophobia register, ⁵ TheyCan't ⁶
specific	dedicated	ad-hoc	Aboriginal Memes Petition; ⁷ Hash Tag campaign #RideWithMe ⁸
specific	casual	permanent	IndigenousX, ⁹
specific	casual	ad-hoc	News article about racism against a particular community with an open comments section ¹⁰
general	dedicated	permanent	Online Hate Prevention Institute, ¹¹ All Together Now, ¹² Believe in Bendigo, ¹³ No Hate Speech Movement, ¹⁴ INACH ¹⁵ UN Human Rights Commissioner ¹⁶
general	dedicated	ad-hoc	No Room for Racism Coalition which sprang up to counter rallies by the UPF ¹⁷
general	casual	permanent	FECCA, ¹⁸ UNAOC ¹⁹
general	casual	ad-hoc	News article with comments against racism – S18C ²⁰

⁵ <https://www.facebook.com/islamophobiaregisteraustralia/>

⁶ <https://www.facebook.com/TheyCant>

⁷ <https://www.change.org/p/facebook-headquarters-immediately-remove-the-racist-page-called-aboriginal-memes>

⁸ <http://www.bbc.com/news/blogs-trending-30479306>

⁹ https://twitter.com/IndigenousX?ref_src=twsrc%5Egoogle%7Ctwcamp%5Eserp%7Ctwgr%5Eauthor

¹⁰ <https://theconversation.com/booing-adam-goodes-racism-is-in-the-stitching-of-the-afl-45316>

¹¹ <https://www.facebook.com/onlinehate/>

¹² <https://www.facebook.com/alltogethernow.org.au/>

¹³ <https://www.facebook.com/believeinbendigo/>

¹⁴ <https://www.facebook.com/nohatespeech/>

¹⁵ https://www.facebook.com/pg/INACHnet/likes/?ref=page_internal

¹⁶ <https://www.facebook.com/unitednationshumanrights>

¹⁷ <https://www.facebook.com/No-Room-for-Racism-357685031103855/?fref=ts>

¹⁸ <https://www.facebook.com/iFECCA/>

¹⁹ <https://www.facebook.com/unaoc.org/>

²⁰ <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/sep/01/the-debate-about-18c-doesnt-have-to-be-a-left-right-slanging-match>

7.3.1. The Community Builders

The examples highlighted in the table demonstrate the variety of actors that are running communities supporting resistance to racism and demonstrating solidarity with the victims of racism. These actors can be grouped into the following five categories:

1. Civil Society Organisations Affiliated with a Targeted Group

Civil society organisations that are affiliated with a particular target group bring an element of authenticity to the fight against racism when they share their experience as well as the impact racism is having on individuals and their community. For these organisations, emotional involvement is a strength that adds power to their narrative. Their arguments rely on empathy and can sway the disengaged bystander to take a stand against racism in solidarity with the victims and other allies in the community. These organisations are usually seen by members of the targeted community as having the community's interest at heart, which increases the trust members of that community place in the organisation. A special case of this kind of civil society organisations is the peak bodies representing homogeneous ethnic or cultural communities.

Examples include state bodies such as the Jewish Community Council of Victoria, the United Indian Association and the Islamic Council of Victoria, as well as national bodies such as the Australian Federation of Islamic Councils and the Executive Council of Australian Jewry. These umbrella bodies can

speak with a united voice on behalf of their affiliated organisations, increasing the impact of their message.

2. Unaffiliated Civil Society Groups

Unaffiliated civil society groups bring an element of authority to discussions of racism through their objective and often non-emotional assessment of racism and its impact. Their authority can be applied to calling out racism and bringing it to the attention of supporters and the wider public. Their online communities provide a ready audience able to spread the message through social media to a wider audience. These civil society groups may be able to dedicate greater resources to empower their supporters and enable them to take positive action. A special form of civil society organisation is the association or peak body that brings different targeted group organisations together. Examples include the Federation of Ethnic Community Councils of Australia (FECCA) and the Jewish, Christian, Muslim Association (JCMA). These broader groups can run their own more general communities, or act as a converter, allowing communities affiliated with one targeted group to more easily stand in solidarity with other targeted groups. This is based on an explicit assurance of mutual solidarity coordinated through the peak body.

3. Government Agencies

Government agencies can bring formal authority to an online community but may be constrained in what they can do as a result of their remit and need to remain impartial. They are in a strong position to provide factual information

to a community, particularly on laws, which may apply, and the legal rights of individuals and targeted communities. Government agencies are also able to bestow authority on civil society organisations through the provision of grants. This provides valuable practical support to the organisation, but also demonstrates the government's confidence in their work.

4. Grassroots Activists

Grassroots activists are members of the public who take grassroots action. They are able to swiftly create large and effective *ad hoc* communities in social media, or through online petitions and crowd funding (e.g., in 2017, Go Fund Me raised \$100,000 within 24 hours to fund a new ad campaign to replace billboards of Muslim girls celebrating Australia Day, which had been taken down after the operators received death threats from far-right anti-Islamic group (Go Fund Me 2017)). These *ad hoc* communities may last, and in time become new civil society organisations, or, they may be short-lived, either achieving their purpose or not. The story of an everyday person taking action against racism has a high degree of human interest, particularly if there is evident success or novelty involved, and may lead to media coverage, which can grow the community.

5. Academics

Generally speaking, academics do not build communities, except for academic communities, but they can provide a source of content, insight and information that support active communities. This can be through the direct provision of

information to be shared, or through the provision of evidence that can help other actors focus their strategic efforts more effectively.

7.4. Community Strategies for Resistance and Solidarity

Online communities of resistance to racism and solidarity in the face of racism can act both reactively and proactively.

Reactive responses include online community efforts to:

- Call out racism online or in daily life; [L] [SEP]
- Work collaboratively online to have racist material removed and
- Promote counter speech to racist narratives through online campaigns disproving racist claims with facts. [L] [SEP]

Proactive responses include community-based campaigns to:

- Promote positive values such as multiculturalism; [L] [SEP]
- Share knowledge about the culture and traditions of targeted groups; [L] [SEP]
- Promote narratives highlighting the harm in racism, both to individuals and society; [L] [SEP]
- Help people learn to recognise what other groups in society may consider racist and why; [L] [SEP]
- Countering historical and other narratives that reflect bias by the dominant cultural group to the detriment of minorities
- Promote narratives that normalise positive intergroup relations.

Tables 7.2 and 7.3 show which strategies, both proactive and reactive, are most likely to work for each stakeholder group :

Table 7.2 Stakeholder Reactive Strategies

	Affiliated Civil Society Group	General Civil Society Group	Government	Academic	Grassroots
Calling out racism	Yes. Public statements.	Yes. Public statements / educational campaigns.	A little. Through statements.	No	Yes
Working to remove racist content	Yes. Public statements / campaigns.	Yes. Public statements / campaigns.	Yes in a limited way through the media / approaches to companies in extreme cases.	No	Yes
Disproving racist narratives	No	Yes. Public campaigns.	A little. Through statements / speeches.	Yes	Yes

Table 7.3 Stakeholder Proactive strategies

	Affiliated Civil Society Group	General Civil Society Group	Government	Academic	Grassroots
Promoting positive values	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Unlikely
Strengthening inter-groups relations	Yes	Yes	Yes. Through event funding.	No	Unlikely
Highlighting Harm in racism	Yes. Through personal narratives.	Yes. Research & Campaigns.	A little. Through statements.	Yes. Research.	Unlikely
Education to recognise racism	Yes. Introducing themselves.	Yes. Publications.	A little. Online resources.	A little. Research but needs conversion for public impact.	Unlikely
Countering historical and other narratives	Yes	Possibly.	No.	Yes.	Yes
Narratives normalising positive intergroup relations	Yes	Yes	A little. Through promoting Government support.	No.	Yes

7.4.1. Sources and Amplifiers

The stakeholders running a community and the type of community will have a significant impact on which strategies will be possible. A stakeholder wishing to advance multiple strategies may use multiple online communities, possibly with overlapping membership, to achieve their goal. Some strategies work best when multiple stakeholders assist the community in different ways.

There are two support roles in which a stakeholder can support another actor's community:

1. **As a source:** providing content, which keeps the community engaged.

Organisations affiliated with a targeted group can provide their experiences and those of their community. Government agencies can provide information. Politicians can provide statements of policy. Researchers, whether from academia or other civil society organisations, can provide facts and opinions.

2. **As an amplifier:** an amplifier expands an online community. This usually occurs when one community shares the campaign of another. The organisation receiving content from a source will often be acting as an amplifier. Online communities run by civil society organisations or government can amplify the impact of narratives from target groups or findings from research. This may involve more than simply sharing a link to the content. It can involve substantially repackaging the narrative or key research findings to make it work more effectively within the amplifying community. An amplifier can take

a message out of the echo chamber of the targeted community or the ivory towers of academia, into the wider community.

Civil society organisations affiliated with a targeted group can be amplifiers, spreading calls to action from more general civil society organisations and government agencies to their community. They can also act as amplifiers for other target groups when those groups come under attack. Associations or peak bodies that bring different targeted group organisations together can be particularly effective in this role. By acting as amplifiers for the work of their member organisations and adding their own commentary, these groups can effectively spread messages between targeted groups, helping build cross-community empathy, mutual support and understanding as part of a network of resistance and solidarity.

7.5. Case Study: The Online Hate Prevention Institute

Who: The Online Hate Prevention Institute (OHPI).

What: Founded in January 2012, the OHPI is Australia's only unaffiliated civil society organisation entirely dedicated to the problem of online hate speech.

How: Due to its strong focus on technology expertise, OHPI is unique among its peers, being as much a high-tech startup as a civil society organisation. This influences not only their deep understanding of the problem of online racism,

but also the strategies they can use to counter it. OHPI is a registered charity, with an annual budget of under \$200,000 in 2016 (Australian Charities and Not For Profits Commission 2017).

Why: OHPI seeks to empower and give voice to its stakeholders by removing the barriers that prevent the reporting of cyber racism. OHPI's approach aims to facilitate the creation of resilient online communities of resistance and solidarity to cyber racism.

OHPI grew out of a project focused exclusively on online anti-Semitism; however, the formation of the Institute signaled a shift to a wider anti-hate engagement tackling issues such as Islamophobia, anti-Aboriginal hate, homophobia, misogyny, cyber bullying, trolling and other forms of

online hate. OHPI is now recognised globally as a key innovator in developing online strategies to address systemic governance failures on the Internet, which have allowed hate to go viral.

For regular social media users, the key barrier is an inability to meaningfully respond when they encounter racism online. Social media companies do provide systems for reporting online racism, but most reports are rejected by them, sending a negative and disempowering message to affected users. Real change is hampered due to the following:

- Those within social media companies who wish to see change are often blocked, as handling racism is not a business priority, and technical expertise is more focused on generating revenue;
- Researchers are blocked in their investigations of online racism due to the difficulty in acquiring sufficiently large and representative samples of online racism and
- Law makers are blocked due to both insufficient technical understanding and a lack of research data to provide the basis for evidence based policy.

7.5.1. Sourcing Hate Content from Their Online Community

OHPI's approach is centred on crowdsourcing hate speech data from the public. This is facilitated through their online community of over 24,000 fans on Facebook (Facebook, 2017d) and their online tool at FightAgainstHate.com (Fight Against Hate, 2015a). This tool enables users to report instances of cyber racism. OHPI issues regular campaigns, called briefings, which are published on the OHPI website and include calls to action to empower members to report specific instances of online hate. In the 2016 financial reporting year, OHPI published 84 briefings, which were collectively liked or shared 39,217 times (OHPI, 2016a). OHPI also operates a Twitter account and mailing list, which provide secondary avenues of communication. Each briefing on the OHPI website is announced with a Facebook post, and

community members often respond with a comment when they have taken action. Some also tag friends in their comment, drawing them into the reactive campaign created by the briefing. Administrators of other Facebook pages act as key nodes to a wider network, often sharing content relevant to their community on their own pages. Some of these pages relate to civil society organisations, and others are purely based in social media. The sharing of the OHPI's briefings into other online communities increases resilience by linking these communities into a wider action of solidarity against the cyber racism and active resistance against the examples explored in the briefings.

7.5.2. The FightAgainstHate.com reporting tool

The core of OHPI's system is FightAgainstHate.com, an online tool, which allows the public to report the hate speech, they see on Facebook, YouTube and Twitter. The system allows reporting of racism as well as cyber bullying, homophobia and misogyny. It also gives users the option to lodge a report and assign their own category label if none of those presented appear appropriate. Through the tool, a large sample of hate content is gathered, and its continued availability online can then be monitored. This not only provides data on the nature of online hate, but also allows monitoring of the effectiveness of self-regulation by social media companies in removing the hate. Critically for researchers, it converts the problem of finding the hate into the more manageable problem of quality control over reports made by the public (Oboler and Connelly 2014).

To report a hate content item, the user copies the Web address from the social media platform and pastes it into FightAgainstHate.com. The system then parses the address and extracts a unique identifier for the underlying content. This helps to merge duplicate reports even when the incoming addresses may differ. The system then invites the reporter to classify the type of hate they are reporting. Some categories, like anti-Semitism and anti-Muslim hate, have subcategories. A user selecting anti-Semitism, for example, would be able to further specify if the content was incitement to violence, Holocaust denial, traditional anti-Semitism or new anti-Semitism.

Users who report to FightAgainstHate.com know that, unlike most reports made directly to platform providers, their report will not be ignored and their effort wasted. They know their contribution is likely to make a real difference. This provides a further incentive for users to continue reporting; it strengthens their resilience and helps create a sense of resistance, as users are able to share what they have reported and encourage others to take action. OHPI's briefings are often based on items of hate reported through the FightAgainstHate.com system.

Essentially, FightAgainstHate.com empowers members of the community, increases their individual resilience and makes the community as a whole a more dynamic, powerful and flexible community of resistance. The data it generates are further enhanced by reports made through Facebook messages and direct e-mails to OHPI—which may also be used in briefings for future collective action.

7.5.3. The Unity in Diversity on Australia Day Campaign

The OHPI community also promotes proactive campaigns. The largest was the “Unity in Diversity on Australia Day” campaign in 2016, which posted messages and images of positive Australian values such as multiculturalism, mateship, diversity and religious pluralism, which could be shared by the community on Facebook (OHPI, 2016b).

Though proactive in the sense that the campaign didn’t confront messages of cyber racism head on, it was a response to a hate campaign by far-right groups, which sought to declare everyone born in Australia as an “Indigenous Australian,” both removing the special status of Australia’s first peoples and seeking to exclude from the community of “real Australians” those who immigrated to Australia and have since become naturalised Australians, often through citizenship ceremonies held on Australia Day (OHPI, 2016c). The OHPI’s briefing, explaining the reactive need for the campaign, was liked and shared over 3000 times. A second briefing was released ahead of the campaign launch after a backlash from some Indigenous community members who were planning a boycott of Australia Day, instead promoting it as Invasion Day. Due to the backlash, OHPI published a second briefing, highlighting the different meanings of Australia Day to different segments of the Australian community, including those in the Indigenous community who were promoting the Invasion Day campaign (OHPI, 2016d).

On Australia Day itself, different images and messages about the campaign were posted on OHPI's Facebook page. These posts reached over 160,000 Australian Facebook users and gathered over 7200 likes, shares and comments.

7.5.4. The Spotlight on Anti-Muslim Internet Hate Campaign

The Spotlight on Anti-Muslim Internet Hate (SAMIH) campaign was created by OHPI to:

- Raise awareness about anti-Muslim hate in social media;
- Encourage active reporting by the public;
- Gather a large sample of anti-Muslim hate data and
- Track how social media companies were responding to reports about anti-Muslim hate (Fight Against Hate, 2015b).

The campaign mirrored the “Spotlight on Anti-Semitism” campaign, which had gathered over 2000 items of anti-Semitic social media content in a two-month campaign period (The Big Smoke 2015). The campaign also built on OHPI's 2013 report “Islamophobia on the Internet” (Oboler, 2013) and a refined scheme of anti-Muslim harassment from a draft chapter later published in the book “Islamophobia in Cyberspace” (Oboler, 2016a).

SAMIH was formally launched as part of an event run by La Trobe University whose students interned with OHPI and helped to produce some of

the communications material and messaging for the campaign (OHPI, 2015a).

In addition to the support from the university, the campaign also received:

- A letter of support from the Victorian Minister for Multicultural Affairs on behalf of the state government (OHPI, 2015b);
- Financial sponsorship from the Australian Federal Police and the Islamic Council of Victoria and
- Non- financial support from a range of other organisations including the Federation of Ethnic Communities' Councils of Australia (FECCA), the Multicultural Communities Council of Illawarra and All Together Now (Fight Against Hate, 2015c).

The campaign was built with three possible levels of implementation. The cost ranged from \$41,600 to \$86,700, with OHPI planning to cover over half from existing resources and seeking the rest from sponsorships and donations through a crowdfunding campaign (Fight Against Hate, 2015d). The crowdfunding campaign on the Indiegogo platform raised \$3400 from 43 people and also helped raise awareness of the campaign (Indiegogo, 2015).

There were 48 Facebook posts shared with OHPI's Facebook community about the campaign—some linking to the campaign mini-site with a counter for the number of reports gathered so far, while others linking to the crowdfunding campaign. Some of these were boosted with advertising to the wider Australia community. In total, the posts had a reach of over 224,300 and were liked,

shared or commented on over 7600 times. The online community was kept up-to-date on progress towards the funding and reporting goals.

The campaign gathered over 1000 items of anti-Muslim hate, and the resulting breakdown, as well as the social media platforms' initial responses in removing the hate, was published in an interim report on International Human Rights Day in December 2015 (Oboler, 2015). The collected data were shared with multiple experts for manual vetting and inclusion in a final report. Unfortunately, this work was never completed due to the funding shortfall.

7.5.5. OHPI Data: Feeding into Research and Policy

OHPI seeks to be a bridge between the online community wanting to take action against cyber racism, and the researchers, policymakers and government agencies working to address the problem of cyber racism. This work started in the policy sphere, with the plans to develop FightAgainstHate.com as a solution to the difficulty in gathering data about online hate in social media. OHPI, while engaging in many other activities, was created as the institutional vehicle to drive forward work on the FightAgainstHate.com platform.

The origins of FightAgainstHate.com are in a software specification prepared in consultation with international anti-racism experts at the Global Forum to Combat Anti-Semitism in 2011 (Abitbol, 2011). It was launched in Sydney by the Hon Paul Fletcher on behalf of the then Minister for Communications, the Hon Malcolm Turnbull, in December 2014 (Roth, 2014). In 2015, the Global

Forum to Combat Anti-Semitism endorsed the tool and circulated the first interim report created using FightAgainstHate.com. The completed report, which included additional details of the takedown rates for different types of anti-Semitism across Facebook, YouTube and Twitter, was published in early 2016 (Oboler, 2016b). This provided the template later used for the “Spotlight on Anti-Muslim Internet Hate Interim Report” in the SAMIH campaign. The reports demonstrated the impact of FightAgainstHate.com, which was described in two UNESCO reports as one of the “innovative tools for keeping track of hate speech across social networks and how different companies regulate it” (Gargliardone et al. 2015, p. 4; Pollack 2015, p. 46). Data from the interim reports were also presented before diplomats at the United Nations in New York as part of a United Nations Alliance of Civilizations conference “Tracking Hatred: An International Dialogue on Hate Speech in the Media” (OHPI, 2015c).

These reports also highlight the types of hate which platforms are less willing to remove. They provide a baseline on how effective social media companies are with self-regulation to remove hate. Evidence of the failure of self-regulation has provided the basis for introducing co-regulation, first in Germany and then in Europe. In May 2016, for example, the European Commission and technology companies reached an agreement that 50% of hate speech would be removed within 24 hours (European Commission, 2016). Data from another study demonstrating that in a sample of 600 items only 25% of the hate was removed within 24 hours led to calls by European officials for technology companies to do more to tackle the problem (*The New York Times*,

2016). Software like FightAgainstHate.com could facilitate such monitoring to occur on a daily basis and using significantly larger samples. The one difficulty is that, at present, OHPI needs to extract the data from the FightAgainstHate.com system and manually create the summary statistics and graphs used in the reports.

7.5.6. The CSI-CHAT Analysis Tool

A prototype tool called CSI-CHAT (Crowd Sourced Intelligence— Cyber-Hate and Threats) was completed by OHPI in late 2016 to allow organisations from key stakeholder groups, such as academics, government agencies, civil society organisations and community organisations, to:

- Create their own schema of hate types;
- Review the data reported through FightAgainstHate.com;
- File it according to their organisations schema and
- Produce summary statistics. CSI-CHAT not only provides data collated through FightAgainstHate.com, such as the total number of people who have reported a particular social media item, the date it was first reported and the date it was most recently reported, but also:
- allows users from stakeholder organisations to add their own annotations to reported items;

- allows users from stakeholder organisations to create incident reports which carry a description as well as embedding related items which have been reported and
- provides summary statistics by generating tables and graphs, giving a live summary of the organisation's sorted data as well as trend analysis based on that data for any designated time period.

Essentially, CSI-CHAT takes the power of FightAgainstHate.com and makes it available to a wider audience of stakeholders. This makes it easier for experts in anti-racism to become part of the expert community tackling online hate. It also increases the impact and value of the contributions of the online community reporting content through FightAgainstHate.com.

7.6. Case Study: IndigenousX

Who: IndigenousX

What: A permanent and growing affiliated grassroots Twitter community made up of Indigenous Australian guest tweeters and followers who are either Indigenous Australians or supporters of IndigenousX (IndigenousX, 2017a).

How: IndigenousX is a private company that runs on a modest budget plus significant voluntary time.

Why: The primary aim of IndigenousX is to give Indigenous Australians a stronger voice in Australian society. As part of this, IndigenousX aims to increase awareness about Indigenous Australian issues, including but not limited to racism, which impact on the Indigenous Australian community.

An examination of 600 tweets by four guest tweeters during January and February 2016 focused specifically on how IndigenousX achieves its aims and how this contributes to community resilience. Findings show that the narrative developed over that period counteracts the racist narrative directed at the Australian Indigenous community. This racist narrative is the manifestation of attitudes that have developed in Australia since colonisation (Connelly, 2016). These attitudes are based on a version of events and experiences that privileges the dominant (white) perspective. This perspective ignores or downplays the Indigenous Australian perspective and negatively stereotypes Indigenous Australian people and their culture. Indigenous Australians are often portrayed as hopeless victims with- out a viable culture; lazy, drunk or affected by drugs; dependent on welfare; and without the ability to determine their own future (Kowal 2015; Graham 2015). The IndigenousX counter-narrative that developed over the four-week period of this research contrasts with Australian racist narratives. The topics tweeted about are those that are important to Indigenous Australians and include:

- Invasion Day;
- The National Apology to the Stolen Generation;

- Indigenous health;
- Direct racism and
- Maintenance of language and culture.

The counter-narrative challenges the dominant racist perspective and also focuses on the diversity of Indigenous Australian people, their perspectives and their performance of excellence, thereby challenging negative stereotypes. They also show, through their emotional expression, that they are hopeful about their future. This powerful counter-narrative acts as a form of resistance to racism.

7.6.1. The IndigenousX Community

The founder of IndigenousX, Luke Pearson, started tweeting about Indigenous issues because he felt “the national dialogue was characterised by a consistent lack of awareness, understanding and respect for Indigenous people” (IndigenousX, 2017a). In 2012, this expanded to the IndigenousX account, the aim of which is to enhance the platform and profile he had created by providing an opportunity for 52 other Indigenous people per year “to share their knowledge, opinions and experiences with a wide audience of interested tweeps” (IndigenousX, 2017a). Each week, a different Indigenous Australian person guest hosts the account, tweeting about topics that are important to them. The IndigenousX Twitter community is supported through a variety of

online resources, which work to raise the profile of the Twitter account and grow the community, including:

- A website that gives an overview of IndigenousX (IndigenousX, 2017a);
- A Facebook page that posts news articles and refers back to the Twitter account (Facebook, 2017e);
- A blog connected to the website that posts educational and news articles (IndigenousX, 2017b);
- A YouTube channel that presents talks, interviews and campaign information about IndigenousX and provides music and other playlists (YouTube, 2017);
- A dedicated section in online news site Guardian Australia publishing an online profile of the guest tweeter on a weekly basis (Guardian Australia, 2017). The section, entitled “Our stories, our way,” provides an opportunity for the guest tweeters to explain who they are and what they are passionate about. This gives readers and followers of IndigenousX insights into the lives of IndigenousX tweeters. It also gives a preview of what they might tweet about when a guest on the IndigenousX Twitter account.

7.6.2. Australia Day, the National Apology Day and Mabo Day

Two major events, Australia Day and the anniversary of the National Apology (to the stolen generation), fell in the research period. Originally, the focus of Australia Day was about the arrival of the First Fleet and the raising of the

British Flag. However, Australia Day has evolved to be a national holiday put aside to celebrate “What’s great about Australia and being Australian” (NADC, 2017). Australia is now recognised and embraced by most Australians as a multicultural nation (Markus, 2016). As such, contemporary Australia Day celebrations also focus on promoting diversity and positive Australian values such as mateship. Campaigns such as OHPI’s 2016 “Unity in Diversity on Australia Day” campaign, described earlier, reinforce these ideas. However, the current date of Australia Day falls on the anniversary of the day Australia was colonised by the British in 1788. For this reason, many Indigenous Australians believe the narrative about Australia Day represents the invasion of their country by the British, and therefore an ongoing series of traumas. In response to this narrative, the number one hashtag on the IndigenousX Twitter account around Australia Day was #Invasion Day 2016. Other common words used in the tweets to describe Invasion Day include “massacre” and “genocide”. These words represent a part of the IndigenousX narrative that is ignored or somewhat hidden from the Australian narrative. For example, one tweet included a link to a list of Indigenous Australian massacres that occurred after colonisation, but this part of Indigenous history is generally not known or is unacknowledged by many white Australians in their celebration of Australia day.

The hashtags #Apology and #Apology2016 were also prominent during this time. The anniversary of the Australian Government Apology to Indigenous Australians (February 13, 2008) for the forced removal of their children (“e Stolen Generation”) is an important part of the Australian narrative that goes

some way to recognising the past trauma of Indigenous Australians. The tweets suggest that while nothing can make up for the pain and suffering caused by the policy of forced removal of Indigenous children enacted by previous governments, the Apology at least recognises that this policy was wrong and hurtful. The prominence of these tweets as part of the IndigenousX narrative highlights the importance of ensuring the Indigenous Australian perspective is included as part of Australian history. The #Maboday (named after the late Eddie Mabo, a modern advocate for the recognition of native title, and the return of Indigenous lands) was also one of the top hashtags and represents a call for a day recognising Indigenous Australians (replacing the Queen's Birthday) that is not tied up with the white version of events.

7.6.3. Indigenous Health

The failure of government policies to “close the gap” with regard to Indigenous health was another prominently tweeted topic. Tweets were about the waste of government funds, continued evidence of family violence and prescription drug misuse. It was also pointed out that the “Northern Territory Intervention” (““a national emergency response to protect Aboriginal children in the Northern Territory’ from sexual abuse and family violence” (Australian Human Rights Commission, 2007)) has resulted in more Indigenous children being taken away from their families, creating what has been referred to as a “new stolen generation”. A comment from radio broadcaster Alan Jones that implied this new stolen generation was necessary to x Indigenous issues “for their own good” engendered an angry response. This is an example of the

subjugation in the racist narrative that IndigenousX tweeters are affected by and respond to.

7.6.4. Direct Racism

Bringing topics into the limelight that would otherwise be missed or whitewashed by the mainstream media is also part of the IndigenousX narrative. Direct racism against Indigenous Australians is one such topic. Some tweets highlighted an incident where prominent sports people used blackface (representing Indigenous Australians) at a fancy dress party. Blackface is widely recognised as a form of racism because of its past use in demeaning people of colour. Other tweets focused on a video game called *Survival Island* 3 that was available for sale on Google Play and iTunes. The game called for users to kill Indigenous Australians. IndigenousX tweets highlighted these racist incidents from the perspective of Indigenous Australians.

7.6.5. Cultural Revival

Cultural revival through education is also part of the IndigenousX narrative. The recognition of Aboriginal English (#AbE) as a language was highlighted as an important issue by a teacher who was a guest tweeter. Many other tweets by this tweeter recognised the importance of literacy for Indigenous children, not just in English but in Indigenous languages as well. Other tweets called for the teaching of Indigenous culture and history as part of the mainstream Australian school curriculum and pointed out the significance of language revival in maintaining Indigenous Australian culture. While not discussed as

part of the mainstream white narrative, the maintenance of language and culture through education is put forward as a positive step in improving Indigenous Australians lives.

The perception that Indigenous Australians are hopeless victims is also challenged through the emotion words used in the IndigenousX narrative.

Mohammad and Kiritchenko (2015) argue that all language, including tweets, is used to convey a range of emotions. An examination of IndigenousX tweets, exploring some common emotion words, shows 87.5% were positive, with words like “amazing” and the #awesome featuring. The most common emotion words expressed were “love” and “hope,” showing that these are important among the IndigenousX tweeters in this research. Despite many of the tweets highlighting negative aspects of Indigenous Australian culture in Australia, the tweets show an overwhelmingly optimistic overtone through the emotion words used.

As well as highlighting events, experiences and emotions from the perspective of Indigenous Australians, IndigenousX proactively challenges negative stereotypes of Indigenous Australians through the promotion of Indigenous excellence. The Guardian Australia profiles show that IndigenousX guest tweeters have different life experiences and come from a variety of backgrounds. The four guest tweeters tweeting during the period of this research included a musician, a teacher, a journalist and a solicitor, and their backgrounds were both urban and rural. Other IndigenousX guest tweeters (who were not part of this research) also vary greatly in their life experiences

and backgrounds, reflecting the general diversity of Indigenous Australians. In addition, the “X” in IndigenousX stands for excellence. IndigenousX demonstrates that excellence can be “performed” through the diversity of the guest tweeters, their different ways of experiencing and communicating their worlds and their powerful individuality.

7.6.6. Resistance, Solidarity and Community Resilience

The individual IndigenousX guest tweeters are drawn together as a community with a common goal of sharing their knowledge, opinions and experiences. The authenticity of the IndigenousX tweeters also attracts followers who feel empathy with them and/or support their tweets. These followers act in solidarity, with the guest tweeters increasing the visibility and strength of this community and the counter-narrative. At the time of writing, the IndigenousX community was made up of over 250 Indigenous Australian guest tweeters and 29,300 followers. In addition, the IndigenousX counter-narrative has a high level of human interest and has led to mainstream media coverage potentially also growing the community. As the IndigenousX community grows, so too does the spread and power of the counter-narrative of resistance to racism and the solidarity with others who have the same views. Chapter Nine further explores of how the IndigenousX narrative contributes to community resilience.

7.7. Additional Approaches

7.7.1. An Unaffiliated Civil Society Group

All Together Now is a purpose-driven civil society organisation focused generally on encouraging the embracement of cultural diversity and the eradication of racism (All Together Now, 2017). Following recommendations in the *Building on our Strengths' Report* (Victorian Health Promotion Foundation 2009), All Together Now uses a combination of online and traditional educational and campaigning strategies to achieve its aims. Work so far has included:

- The development of the award-winning **Everyday Racism Mobile App** (based on giving individual users an immersive experience);
- The similarly inspired **Anti-racism App for primary school children** (promoting positive peer relations among students);
- The **CAPE project** (designed to counter white nationalist conspiracy theories);
- The **#Eraseracism campaign** (designed to counter racism in Football) and
- The award-winning **One Parramatta Project** (a film project targeting youth, that inspired self-reflection about racism and cultural inclusion).

All Together Now is a registered charity with a budget in 2016 of just over \$100,000 (Australian Charities and Not For Profit Commission, 2016).

The use of a social media is seen as a vital marketing tool to promote All Together Now's projects and campaigns, and to spread the message challenging racism in Australia and building a culture of solidarity against racism. Although not part of the original intended strategy, the use of social media has evolved to include building and maintaining online communities of resistance and solidarity to racism. The All Together Now Facebook page has 4000 fans (Facebook, 2017f), and the Twitter account has over 2000 followers (Twitter, 2017a). In both cases, All Together Now uses these channels not only to share their own campaigns, but also to share content from other sources such as news stories, videos and the social media campaigns of others. Some social media content directly requests community members' engagement, for example, the Facebook post on December 16, 2016, which shared a video with the comment "We all know Australia is a culturally diversified country, but sometimes we may encounter some cultural stereotype conditions. Check out this interesting video and post comments about your encounters and feelings!" (Facebook, 2017f). Through their engagement with All Together Now social media content, supporters contribute to the discussion and build the sense of community. They thus raise their own and each other's awareness of racism and issues surrounding cultural diversity, while joining together on campaigns in solidarity against racism.

7.7.2. A Government Agency

The AHRC is an independent statutory organisation that reports to the Australian Parliament through the Attorney-General (Australian Human Rights Commission, 2017a). The Commission's mission is "leading the promotion and protection of human rights in Australia," and it includes a president who serves as the CEO and seven commissioners with specific portfolios for different areas of human rights, including a Race Discrimination Commissioner (Australian Human Rights Commission, 2017a). The Commission employs over 100 staff and has an annual operating budget of over AU\$22.5 million (Australian Government, 2016). In August 2012, the Commission launched the "Racism. It Stops With Me" national anti-racism campaign as part of a National Anti-Racism Strategy (Australian Human Rights Commission, 2013a).

The national anti-racism campaign allows businesses, sports bodies, educational providers, local governments and civil society organisations to become supporter organisations by agreeing to "endorse the campaign message, promote the campaign and identify specific activities they will undertake in the anti-racism space" (Australian Human Rights Commission, 2013b). Supporters sign a legal agreement with the Commission, though there is no financial commitment from either side: supporting organisations do not pay to participate, nor does the Commission provide grants to support the activities of supporting organisations. Individuals were also able to become supporters by entering their name, e-mail address and their photograph. After

its first year, the campaign had 160 organisational supporters and 900 individual supporters (Australian Human Rights Commission, 2013c). By June 2015, the number of organisations had grown to over 360, and by February 2017, there were over 2400 individual supporters signed up (Australian Human Rights Commission, 2015; Australian Human Rights Commission, 2017b).

The campaign has a community based around its Twitter account @itstopswithme, which, in January 2017, had 8300 followers and had made 1575 tweets (Twitter, 2017b). Followers engage by sharing their own anti-racism work through tweets to the campaign account and using the hashtag #itstopswithme, and by liking, retweeting and replying to the campaign account's tweets. The campaign account often likes or retweets posts directed to it, sharing them with the wider campaign community. In this way, the account acts as an amplifier for the anti-racism content from supporters. The campaign does not operate a Facebook page, a move that has allowed its name and logo to be appropriated by a group of students outside Australia who have created a small and largely inactive page combating racism (Facebook 2017g).

The AHRC also operates a large Facebook page, with over 85,000 fans (Facebook, 2017h). The page:

- Promotes the events and activities of the Commission;
- Shares news articles about the Commission;
- Features commentary from the Commissioners;

- Posts links to new content on the Commission's website and
- Shares content from the individual pages operated by each Commissioner.

The page does not share social media content from other organisations, though an occasional exception is made, for example, for content from the United Nations. This makes it far more a broadcast mechanism than an online community. This is also reflected in interactions; the audience shares the content, but discussion is limited and is usually in the form of requests for additional information. The Race Discrimination Commissioner's page has just under 3000 fans (Facebook, 2017i). On his page, the Race Discrimination Commissioner shares his own articles in the media, relevant news stories and photographs and reports on his activities and engagements with the community. The Commissioner makes around 10–15 posts a month compared to around 60 a month made on the Commission's page. While the engagement is higher on the Commissioner's page, most of it is negative. Some comments are critical of the arguments made in the Commissioner's articles, but much of it is opposition to anti-racism work in general, and to the role of the Commissioner and the Commission specifically. If the Commissioner's page constitutes an online community, that community is not one of solidarity and resistance to racism. The high number of likes and shares, however, shows the page does provide useful content for other communities. The decision to allow those opposed to the Commissioner's work to have their say, while perhaps appropriate for a Government Commissioner, has resulted in a lack of a safe

space for those opposed to racism and as a result has significantly inhibited the formation of a community of solidarity and resistance to racism forming around the page.

7.7.3. A Peak Body for Impacted Communities

The Federation of Ethnic Communities' Councils of Australia (FECCA) is an example of a permanent national peak body that has a general focus on anti-racism as part of its work (FECCA, 2017). FECCA's general priorities are "the promotion of multiculturalism, the protection of community harmony, the advocacy of social justice, and the rejection of racism and discrimination" (Facebook, 2017j). FECCA's work focuses on advocating and promoting general issues on behalf of Australians from culturally and linguistically diverse (CALD) backgrounds to government, business and the broader community. FECCA runs meetings and conferences to canvas issues among the various communities and shares a number of resources including fact sheets, reports and the Australian Mosaic Magazine.

It is difficult for FECCA to run its own campaigns on specific issues related to cyber racism because of the limitations created by the competing priorities of the many communities that form part of FECCA and insufficient government funding. This was demonstrated recently when the FECCA Youth Group, which comprised representatives of CALD youth from around Australia, expressed an interest in creating a project that focused on positive ways to respond to cyber racism. However, research as part of the CRaCR project

showed that despite many meetings and the recognition among participants that this was an important issue for Australian CALD youth, no one was able to take responsibility for this project, and funding was not specifically allocated to it. The FECCA Youth Cyber-Racism Project consequently has not yet proceeded.

FECCA's role in developing online communities of resistance and solidarity to cyber racism is more likely to be in its potential to amplify campaigns on behalf of other organisations. FECCA's social media presence is growing: its Facebook page has almost 1500 followers, and its Twitter account has over 2700 followers (Facebook, 2017j; Twitter, 2017c). There is already evidence that amplification is occurring. For example, on January 5, 2017, FECCA posted a link on their Twitter account to a grassroots kickstarter page that is trying to raise funds to support a campaign challenging anti-Muslim sentiment by promoting Muslim diversity. This would increase the visibility and effectiveness of that campaign. So far, most of the amplification through links and retweets or posts on FECCA's social media is from organisations promoting cultural diversity or highlighting excellence among migrants and refugees. A stronger focus on supporting existing online anti-racism communities would amplify the resistance and solidarity of those communities.

7.8. Conclusion

The case studies in this chapter represent some of the different approaches that can be taken to build online communities of resistance and solidarity. These approaches include:

- Grassroots initiatives;
- Civil society organisations affiliated with targeted communities;
- Civil society organisations addressing racism more broadly either online or in general;
- Civil society organisations representing communities or groups of communities and
- Initiatives by government agencies.

There are different challenges to creating a vibrant community depending on the type of stakeholder creating the community. In all cases, to be an effective community, there needs to be a level of interaction and engagement. This needs to go beyond the use of the online space as a channel for advertising the sponsoring organisation, or the use of the space as a news channel to gather and share stories by those interested in anti-racism work.

There are a wide variety of communities that can form, including:

- Permanent communities that bring together people interested in resisting racism and standing in solidarity against it;

- Temporary and *ad hoc* communities that coalesce around an incident, a campaign or through ongoing responses by the same group to a particular item of content such as a news article;
- Communities that are focused on one type of cyber racism;
- Communities that address cyber racism in general;
- Communities that are dedicated to combating cyber racism as a whole or
- Communities with a broader focus, which occasionally engage in activities of resistance to racism and solidarity with victims of racism.

Different approaches will be easier to implement, or have a greater chance of successful engagement when spearheaded by different types of online communities supported by different types of stakeholders. Cooperation between organisations can significantly increase the effectiveness of the resulting community.

Online communities run by civil society groups affiliated with a particular community impacted by cyber racism may see resistance to racism against their community as one of many competing aims for their community.

Creating a community of solidarity against other forms of cyber racism may or may not be considered relevant in the ordinary course of events, but such communities can become communities of solidarity in times of crisis. The special case of community peak representative bodies also serves a vital function in speaking out on behalf of their members when the community

comes under attack (as demonstrated in Chap. 5). This provides a narrative, which communities can gather around if the processes and relationships exist to support this.

Civil society organisations dedicated to anti-racism work in general may see building an online community of resistance and solidarity as one of their key goals. A community focused on multiple kinds of cyber racism benefits from greater reuse of approaches, tools and experience. These communities may entice people to initially engage as an act of resistance to an attack on their own community, but can also convert this support into solidarity for other communities that come under attack at a later stage.

Australian anti-racism policies have in the past primarily focused on the use of new technology as a channel for advertising. Attempts to fully control online spaces and keep the discussion focused on an organisation or agencies own work run counter to the collaborative nature of social media. The size, significance and impact of an online community are not primarily determined by the size, age or authority of the sponsoring organisations. Digitally focused civil society organisations and grassroots campaigns may be better able to create effective online communities than their larger, more established and better funded counterparts.

Collaborations involving material support and endorsements to organisations running effective online communities from organisations and agencies in a position to provide this support can be an effective path to creating stronger

online communities of resistance and solidarity. Evidence of support for a community from those with formal authority and public profile can help energise and grow the community. Endorsing and materially supporting the work of those running effective online communities is a quick and cost-effective path to becoming a significant member of the community. The community then becomes a channel, promoting the relevance of the supporting organisation in tackling cyber racism. This can be far more cost-effective and impactful than seeking to build a new community, which may involve additional staff, project management and outsourcing of technical work, which a civil society organisation focused on digital advocacy already has in-house. There are also limitations through policies and public expectations when campaigns are run by larger organisations or government agencies. Supporting the communities of small organisations allows the same impact without the overheads and limitations.

This chapter has articulated approaches to creating effective online communities of resistance and solidarity, including detailing two successful case studies. The key is encouraging meaningful engagement in a safe space. In the case of OHPI, this engagement occurs in a Facebook based community which denies access to those associated with hate groups, and where active participation is encouraged through community campaigns, supported through the use of FightAgainstHate.com reporting tool, which draw people together to take action against different forms of racism in Australia. IndigenousX focuses on providing a safe space for Indigenous Australian tweeters to counter the racist narrative against their community. It not only draws IndigenousX

tweeters together but also builds a community of supporters who counter racism against Indigenous Australians.

Communities can also be strengthened by engagement from the public and other stakeholders. Partnerships and collaborations can be formed between different organisations with similar aims. These organisations can also promote the good work of others, even in the absence of formal partnerships. Online communities are also not limited geographically and can expand to like-minded people and groups around the world. The recognition of the value of building successful online communities of resistance and solidarity and the support of grassroots civil society organisations leading the way are vital in the effort to combat cyber racism.

CHAPTER EIGHT

CASE STUDY THREE

FACEBOOK: A NARRATIVE OF WELCOME AND INCLUSION

8.1. Introduction

Chapters Eight and Nine extend the findings in Chapter Seven by exploring how online communities who put forward counter narratives also contribute to community resilience to racism in targeted communities. This chapter presents the third case study providing a direct contrast to the cyber racism narrative in the first case study, by focusing on a counter narrative on Facebook.

As described in case study one (Chapter Five), Australian asylum seekers, refugees and migrants have been the subject of Facebook posts that seek to create fear about cultural difference. Muslims in particular have been the focus of a nationalistic narrative that seeks to exclude them on the basis that all Muslims pose a terrorist and cultural threat to Australia. Social media, such as Facebook, provides an ideal platform for such views to proliferate and potentially be normalised, causing significant social stress for these minority groups.

However, some migrants and their supporters are also utilising the potential of Facebook to put forward a counter narrative. The Welcome to Australia

(WTA) Facebook page aims to welcome all migrants regardless of their ethnic and religious backgrounds. An examination of posts on the WTA Facebook page shows that it develops a narrative with a more inclusive view of migrants and allows respectful discussion about issues, particularly related to Muslim Australians. It will be argued that Facebook provides an opportunity for WTA to develop and grow a narrative that counters the terrorist and cultural threat and calls for the inclusion of asylum seekers, refugees, new migrants and Muslims as a valued part of Australian culture. This narrative challenges exclusionary worldviews and potentially contributes to community resilience in these communities. This is achieved through both internal support on the WTA page and amplification of such views to a greater number of Facebook users.

The background section explores the proliferation of racist narratives against Muslims in an Australian context and the necessity for responses that promote resilience in these communities. The methods section describes how the narrative about community resilience on the WTA Facebook page is built. The results section then explores the various components of the narrative in the context of everyday racism and exclusion of Muslim Australians, with a particular focus on four of the most popular posts related to Muslim Australians, including reactions and comments. The discussion section demonstrates how this Facebook page promotes community resilience in asylum seeker, refugee, migrant and Muslim communities in Australia.

8.2. Background

Daniels (2012) and Tynes, Rose and Markoe (2013) acknowledge that some of the racism on social media replicates racism from everyday life. With regard to asylum seekers, refugees, migrants and Muslims in Australia, an everyday narrative has developed that creates a type of ‘moral panic’ towards them and suggests that such migrants pose a threat to the social order in Australia (Jakubowicz, Collins, Reid and Chafic, 2014). Incidents that have been perpetrated by Muslims, such as the ‘Sydney Siege’ contribute to this perception. Colic Peisker et al (2016) argue that this incident led to “emphasising hegemonic ideas of the Australian national identity and values that mark the boundaries of nationhood, community belonging and solidarity” (p.373). These ideas emphasise a sense of otherness of Muslims and of the necessary ‘good’ values for inclusion into the ‘good’ Australian nation that this particular Muslim did not possess. This in turn contributes to a perception that Muslim cultural values are incompatible with Western democratic values and therefore justifies their exclusion (Mansouri, Lobo and Johns 2015).

These observations coincide with research that shows that Middle Eastern and Muslim Australians in particular have experienced one of the highest rates of discrimination in Australia (Salleh-Hoddin and Pedersen, 2012). Pedersen, Dunn, Forrest and McGarty (2012) note that the reasons given for discrimination against Middle Eastern and Muslim Australians are “(a) perceived conflict with ‘Australian values’, (b) fear of Muslims, (c) fear of terrorism, (d) negative media and (e) fear of difference” (p. 1). Narratives

containing this reasoning are now also prevalent on all forms of media, including social media, with asylum seekers, refugees and migrants the subject of commentary that creates fear about cultural difference (Colic-peisker, Mikola and Dekker 2016, Connelly 2016). In addition, Colic-peisker, Mikola and Dekker (2016) argue that the predominance of this narrative curtails “the voices of ordinary Australian Muslims” (p.336).

8.2.1. Facebook and the Enabling of Racist Narratives

The power of social media and Facebook in particular to proliferate and potentially normalise or increase our tolerance for racist narratives against Muslims is becoming increasingly evident. As described in case study one (Chapter Five), narratives that seek to exclude Muslims on the basis that they pose a cultural or terrorist threat are being spread beyond their originating Facebook pages to the general population of Facebook users. In a similar way to Alt Right groups, these groups develop these narratives to build their Facebook communities by increasing their followers (Anglin, 2016). This is achieved through utilizing the enabling characteristics of Facebook: engaging people and gaining their support through ‘likes’, ‘shares’ and ‘comments’ (Connelly, 2016; Van Dijck, 2013).

It is noted that Facebook Community Standards potentially limit the extent of racist content (Facebook, 2018c). Facebook is also attempting to respond to cyber racism, including against Muslims, by getting more involved in monitoring and speaking out against online hate. As described in Chapter Two,

in early 2016 it partnered with the ‘Online Civil Courage Initiative’ in response to sustained pressure regarding Facebook’s ineffective handling of hate speech against Syrian refugees in Germany (Institute for Strategic Dialogue, 2018). While this potentially limits the spread of racist narratives against Muslims in Europe, at the time of this research it did not extend to Australia.

The proliferation of this exclusion narrative on social media is likely to cause these communities significant social stress (Oboler and Connelly, 2014). The health impacts of offline racism in Australia include negative physical and mental health consequences (Paradies and Cunningham, 2012; Paradies, 2006). As described in Chapter Two, international studies of online racism show similar results. For example, a study of online racial discrimination and psychological adjustments in adolescents in the United States shows a negative association between online racial discrimination and psychological functioning (Tynes, Giang, Williams and Thompson, 2008). Research conducted by Awan and Zempi (2015) into virtual and physical anti-Muslim hate crime (including social media hate) in the United Kingdom also shows that their participants experienced a range of psychological and emotional responses, including depression, isolation and anxiety. In addition, because the participants viewed the hate crime as an attack on their identity, it “had severe implications for their levels of confidence and self-esteem, as well as for their feelings of belonging and safety in the United Kingdom” (p. 373).

8.2.2. Responding to Cyber Racism in Asylum Seeker, Refugee, Migrant and Muslim communities

The social stress caused by cyber racism is a significant Australian social problem that needs to be responded to. The Cyber Racism and Community Resilience (CRaCR)ⁱ project that this study is part of was funded to research this problem. Surveys conducted as part of the CRaCR project on Internet users found that of those who had been the target of online racism, 14.0% felt extremely stressed by it and 60.8% somewhat stressed (Jakubowicz et al., 2017, p. 77). Those from a North African and Middle Eastern background (possibly also Muslim) were the second most likely (after Indigenous Australians) to experience online racism, which increased the burden of social stress in their communities (Jakubowicz et al., 2017).

Understanding responses to cyber racism that reduce social stress and promote community resilience was also a key aim of the CRaCR project and is the focus of this case study. Community resilience can be generally defined as community's ability to recover and adapt to any sort of diversity. In Australia, community resilience research has primarily focused on recovery after natural disasters or the radicalisation of Muslim youth (Jakubowicz et al., 2017).

However, community resilience can also be considered in relation to any type of disturbance that causes social stress. The disturbance referred to in the context of this research is the social stress caused by the proliferation of the exclusionary narrative on social media directed towards asylum seekers, refugees, migrants and Muslims.

Strategies for developing community resilience are starting to be recognised. While not specifically focusing on resilience to racism, Jakubowicz's (2015) examination of 11 projects involved in an Australian government-funded community resilience program provides some insight into key strategies that improve community resilience. These include knowledge and awareness through education, skill building, mentoring, and networks of civic participation. The examination drew on previous research by Bodkin-Andrews (2013) that identified key elements of resilience in Indigenous Australians, and Nissim's (2014) extension of Bodkin-Andrew's findings. The key strategies identified also reflect Pfefferbaum, Pfefferbaum and Van Horn's (2015) findings in US research.

Jakubowicz (2015) also emphasises the importance of communication in facilitating community resilience. Effective communication allows communities experiencing trauma such as cyber racism to activate the key strategies identified above. A key part of this process "lies in the capacity of communities to reknit through a shared process of visioning a future post the trauma" (p. 9). Social media such as Facebook allows communities to develop and build a shared narrative. This chapter reports on research that explores specific approaches used by WTA to develop a counter narrative that challenges the exclusionary narrative put forward by some Facebook communities. It also explores how this counter narrative and the development of a vibrant WTA community are likely to contribute to community resilience.

8.3. Research Methods

This researcher analysed 102 posts on the Welcome to Australia Facebook page (Welcome to Australia, 2018a) over the three-month period January to March 2017. In addition, 212 comments and replies to the four most popular posts in this period were analysed. The administrators of the WTA page gave consent for this researcher to analyse these posts and to name the page but not the individual commenters.

The researcher constructed the narrative on the WTA page using a combination of NVivo and coding by hand. The coding identified the types of posts, topics posted about, techniques used to engage the public, and the popularity of the posts. The aim was to develop the narrative in the posts in relation to attitudes towards asylum seekers, refugees, migrants and, in particular, Muslims, in the context of existing Australian narratives of cultural exclusion against these communities.

8.4. Results

WTA's (Welcome to Australia, 2018b) mission is to cultivate a "culture of welcome" in Australia. Its vision statement encompasses a belief in cultural diversity, a celebration of the compassion and generosity of Australians and their 'fair go' ethos, and the facilitating of social and policy change through relationship building and encouraging "inclusion, open mindedness, equality and social harmony". The organisation has a number of different programs

focusing on ways of promoting their vision, such as ‘Welcoming Cities’ and ‘Walk Together’. WTA also utilises social media, including Facebook and Twitter, to spread their message.

Eighteen of the posts on the WTA Facebook page during the research period were written by the WTA administrators and were related to self-promotion (e.g. highlighting new staff), reporting on WTA events and general statements supporting diversity. The rest were re-posts from other sites: 22 promoting or reporting on other organisations that promote diversity, and the majority (62) promoting news articles from other online news sites such as *The Guardian* and the Australian Broadcasting Commission. The news articles included stories that were generally related to cultural diversity in Australia or were personal stories about the experiences of asylum seekers, refugees or migrants. Some stories were a combination of both.

The general news stories were about issues affecting asylum seekers, refugees, migrants and Muslims. These included topics such as the weakening of section 18C of the Australian Racial Discrimination Act, US president Donald Trump’s Muslim immigration ban, Australian Immigration policy, the celebration of Harmony Day on March 21 (a day that coincides with the United Nations International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination), and an Australian state government (Victorian) Anti-Racism campaign. The personal stories include a few sad or tragic stories, such as the difficult experiences of some asylum seekers in detention centres.

The overwhelming majority of personal news stories were positive, however, and conveyed feelings of hope and pride. These included experiences of and contributions to Australian society. For example, one story was about two Pakistani sisters who came to Australia by boat as refugees. Worried by the fact that some of the people on the boat drowned because they could not swim, they decided to join a surf life saving program at a Melbourne beach. Another story was about the success of Majak Daw, the first Sudanese Australian refugee to be selected by an Australian Football League team. Yet another was about an Iranian-born Asylum seeker who wanted to positively contribute to Australian society by becoming a doctor and working in Australian Indigenous communities. These positive representations challenge negative stereotypes of Asylum seekers, refugees, migrants and Muslims as threats to Australia.

In addition to these stories some of the most popular posts were general and personal stories about Muslim Australians who were prominent in the mainstream media. These stories not only had the greatest number of reactions (likes and shares) but were also extensively engaged with through comments and replies. The administrators of the WTA Facebook page noted at the time of the research (in the ‘about’ section) that they would allow debate on posts providing they are respectful and based on reliable information. This meant that both detractors and supporters of Muslim Australians could argue their cases.

An examination of four of the most popular posts related to Muslim Australians in the first three months of 2017 gives an insight into the types of

issues that created interest and generated debate. The first is a repost of a news article that claimed contradictory treatment of Muslims in the Australian mainstream media. This article pointed to the Clean Up Australia website showing that the Ahmadiyya Muslim community raised the most amount of money and had the most volunteers on Clean Up Australia Day in 2017, yet no mention of this was made in mainstream Australian media. Instead, the article claims, the media most often focuses on generalising the acts of a minority of Muslims: “When a single Muslim does a bad act, the whole Muslim community is blamed” (Di Stefano, 2017). Di Stefano (2017) was pointing out how the terrorist and cultural threat narrative related to Muslims becomes popularised.

This post generated 1,400 reactions, 543 shares, 44 comments and 21 replies. Most of the reactions were positive (using the ‘like’ or ‘love’ icon) and the comments supportive, focussing on the positive contribution of this Islamic community to Australian society. Despite the official website of the Amadiyya Muslim Community (Al Islam, 2017) stating that they are an Islamic organisation, a few detractors on the WTA Facebook page claimed that Amadiyya Muslims are not regarded as Muslims by other members of the Muslim community, so they do not represent *all* Muslims. Another detractor referred to the peacefulness of Amadiyya Muslims compared to other Muslims, which may relate to their condemnation of terrorism. The implication of these posts is that Amadiyya Muslims have good values, but other Muslims do not. Such comments attempt to distract attention from the original argument in the

article while simultaneously justifying racism against Muslims who are not Amadiyya Muslims.

Some supporters of the Amadiyya community responded to these negative comments by suggesting that religion was not relevant to the discussion of its contribution to Clean Up Australia Day, while others recommended ignoring the detractors. These supporters also focussed on the way the Amadiyya Muslims demonstrate good Australian values. Both of these types of responses, while well intentioned, also missed the point of the Facebook article, which was to highlight racism against Muslims. By ignoring such racism in this debate, these supporters also demonstrated a misunderstanding of the way the terrorist and cultural threat narrative impacts Muslim Australians as a whole. This response may have contributed to the denial of racism in Australia more generally, rather than assisting anti-racism responses (Nelson, 2013).

Another popular WTA post was the reposting of a story about an Anglican church in Perth that had been opening its doors to Muslim worshipers and had offered to sell part of its land for a mosque to be built next door. This post attracted 987 reactions, 145 shares, 44 comments and 16 replies. Most of the reactions and comments were also positive, some praising ‘religious tolerance’. In contrast, the detractors’ comments and replies expressed a lack of trust in the Muslim community’s relationship with the Anglican Church or argued that another group (such as the homeless) would benefit more from the Church’s help. Supporters responded to these criticisms by pointing out the underlying good intentions of both religious groups.

The third post was a reposting of a personal news story related to Australian comedian Nazeem Hussain. This story contained a quote from an episode of the Australian reality TV show 'I'm a Celebrity get me out of here' where Hussain talks about the community response to the Lindt Café bombing in Sydney in 2014. Hussain explained that his sister, who wears a hijab, was initially scared to travel by train after the bombing, but she felt more confident when the Twitter feed #illridewithyou started trending. Hussain reflected that this strengthened the bonds between non-Muslims and Muslims in Australia, rather than feeding the fear. This post received 640 reactions, 103 shares and 5 comments. All reactions were positive except for one 'sad' icon that possibly demonstrated empathy for Hussain's sister.

The final post relating to Muslims was also a repost of a general news story with some personal content. It related to a young Muslim woman Yassmin Abdel-Magid and an incident on the Australian ABC TV show 'Q and A' on 13 February 2017 when she reacted to criticism of Islam by Tasmanian senator Jacqui Lambie and was subsequently vilified on social media by members of the general public. This post attracted 1,100 reactions, 184 shares and 82 comments, with discussion also generating another 147 responses. The majority of reactions were again positive although 18 were 'angry'. It is difficult to know if the angry responses were aimed at Abdel-Magid or were showing empathy for her through anger at her detractors.

While only a minority of these WTA Facebook posters commented negatively, their comments generated arguments with many other posters. The main topics

debated were extremism and the application of Sharia law in Australia.

Detractors made claims that generalised the application of Sharia Law and that atrocities (such as public vilification of homosexuals) that occurred in other countries may occur in Australia under Sharia Law and should be condemned by all Muslims. The exaggeration or fabrication of facts that occurred in this case could feed into further conspiracy theories (Bessi et al. 2015).

In most instances, supporters questioned the negative comments and some produced factual information to refute the detractors' claims. For example, one supporter pointed out that Sharia law couldn't be practised in Australia because it is not a majority Muslim country. Another explained that extremist acts such as public vilification of homosexuals do not occur in Australia, so they do not need to be condemned. Allowing debate on these topics on the WTA Facebook page gives supporters the opportunity to counter the conspiracy theorists.

The criticism of Muslim Australians as shown in some of the comments on these posts is similar to a generally negative and exclusionary narrative about Muslims that is proliferated on social media such as the FacebookPage1 site described in case study one (Chapter Four). While some detractors might attempt to put forward this view, the primary narrative on the WTA Facebook page promotes a culture of welcome and inclusion. Posts on the page highlight personal and general news stories that show positive contributions made by asylum seekers, refugees, new migrants and Muslims, thereby challenging negative stereotypes. Supporters counter the concerns about Muslim Australians by arguing that there is no basis for the terrorism and cultural threat

views and, instead, focusing on positive aspects of the posts, such as religious tolerance and support for Muslims.

The WTA Facebook page narrative is encapsulated in a post that shows a billboard photo of two Muslim Australian girls celebrating Australia Day (26 January). The underlying message on this post is engagement with an alternative view that presents Muslim Australians as non-threatening. One comment that used a quote from the 2002 song “I am Australian” by the Australian group The Seekers: “We are one, but we are many and from all the lands on earth we come” (AZlyrics, 2017), promotes the point that Australians come from many different backgrounds. This post received over 1,500 likes during the research period and it has contributed to a narrative that is gaining momentum on the WTA Facebook page: that the Australian identity can encompass all asylum seekers, refugees and migrants, including Muslims.

8.5. Discussion

The previous chapter (Chapter Seven) explored the potential of social media such as Facebook and Twitter to build communities of ‘resistance and solidarity’ against cyber racism. As a shared social space social media offers opportunities for these communities to disrupt racist worldviews by putting forward counter narratives. These counter narratives act as a form of cyber anti-racism and contribute to community resilience in communities targeted by cyber racism.

As described in the previous chapter (section 7.4) cyber anti-racism strategies may include either reactive or proactive responses. Reactive responses include calling out racism and having racist content removed, and proactive responses include community-based campaigns and positive counter narratives that promote multiculturalism. The success of these strategies primarily relies on engagement with followers on the social media sites.

The WTA Facebook page uses a combination of reactive and proactive responses to build its community of followers. The proactive responses support a narrative that focuses on the positive contribution of Australians from asylum seeker, refugee, migrant or Muslim backgrounds. They also challenge negative stereotypes by presenting personal stories of members of these communities, as described in the Results section of this chapter. These sorts of engagement engender a sense of hope and pride, contributing to solidarity about the benefits of cultural inclusion and multiculturalism among supporters of the WTA Facebook page.

The reactive responses occur mainly in the comments section of the posts. In particular, there is a concerted effort to counter the Muslim terrorist and cultural threat narrative that exists on other Facebook pages (an example is described in Chapter Five). Allowing comments by detractors that focus on this narrative means that supporters of the WTA page can respond reactively at the time they are made. They are able to refute claims made by detractors using facts, undermining conspiracy theories and bringing the focus back to the positive narrative (Bessi et al. 2015).

This display of empathy towards Muslim Australians by supporters of the page is similar to every day bystander anti-racism, which Nelson et al. (2011) describe as “action taken by ‘ordinary’ people in response to incidents of interpersonal or systemic racism”. (p.1). When possible, bystanders who hold anti-racist views can inform other bystanders, support victims, and call out perpetrators by demonstrating opposition from more than just the targeted group or individual. Even in cases where well-meaning supporters are not fully aware of the issues around Muslim Australians, their general support of this minority group adds to the bystander cyber anti-racism shown on this page.

Proactive and reactive bystander cyber anti-racism approaches work together to construct a counter narrative on the WTA page that fosters a sense of belonging and inclusion. This sense of inclusion is based on the positive contribution of migrants to Australian society and appeals to the egalitarian nature of Australians to welcome and include all migrants. This counter narrative also aligns with The Victorian Health Promotion Foundation’s (2009) *Building on Our Strengths* report which highlights the benefits to *all* Australians of a “positive racial, ethnic, cultural and religious identity [and] an inclusive, welcoming and tolerant national identity” (p. 40).

In addition, the counter narrative is likely to contribute to community resilience in targeted communities. Two of the key strategies identified by Jakubowicz (2015) as assisting in building community resilience are demonstrated on the WTA Facebook page. First, it contributes to ‘knowledge and awareness’ in followers by reposting general news and personal stories that challenge

negative stereotypes. Pedersen, Aly, Hartley and McGarty (2009) found that challenging populist negative media portrayals of Muslim Australians through education resulted in

an increased awareness of structural issues affecting Australian Muslims; a re-framing of citizenship as a shared identity; an increased awareness of negative representation of Muslims in the media; an acknowledgement of Australia's inherent diversity; and a shift from homogenising Muslims as a group to constructing Muslims as part of a diverse society". (p. 81)

The contribution to increased knowledge and awareness on the WTA Facebook page is likely to have similar benefits.

Second, reposting positive personal and general new stories that are already circulating in mainstream media on the WTA Facebook page, gives them more exposure. All followers potentially see these stories in their news feeds and, if they engage with them through likes, shares and comments, the stories are likely to be seen by their friends, and friends of friends, and so on. This engagement may assist in building networks of 'civic participation', another key strategy for community resilience identified by the CRaCR research group (Jakubowicz et al., 2017). Civic participation networks can be built among members of the WTA Facebook community who are asylum seekers, refugees, migrants and Muslims (and may be targets of cyber racism), and other Facebook supporters of this community.

In addition, expanding the network grows the inclusion narrative. The inclusion narrative is able to be ‘amplified’ through the support of other networks and the general public (Jakubowicz et al., 2017). This amplification may also work to limit the terrorist and cultural threat narrative seen on other Facebook pages and in some sections of the community more generally. It does this in two ways, by developing a greater supporter base and by exposing the flaws in the terrorist and cultural threat narrative.

The terrorist and cultural threat narrative similarly relies on the wide support of followers to try and develop a consensus view. Some Australians may be influenced by or be unsure about, the cultural and terrorist threat narratives put forward by the detractors on this and other Facebook pages (particularly in respect of Muslim Australians) and may join in what appears to them to be the consensus view (Pedersen, 2008). However, if this narrative is challenged (as happens on this WTA page) its flaws may be exposed, and Australians may make a different choice about which narrative to support.

The proactive and reactive bystander cyber anti-racism responses on the WTA community Facebook page build a counter narrative that encourages cultural inclusion and directly challenges the Muslim terrorist and cultural threat narrative that is perpetuated on social media such as Facebook. The WTA Facebook page also contributes to community resilience in asylum seeker, refugees, migrants and Muslims by building knowledge and awareness in supporters, exposing flaws in the terrorist and cultural threat narrative and amplifying the WTA cultural inclusion narrative.

8.6. Conclusion

There is evidence that the WTA Facebook page inclusion narrative is gaining momentum and being engaged with by the current page supporters and the general public. This is shown through the steady growth of followers of the page (approximately 130,000 in June 2018). Support from other Facebook pages and the wider Australian community is also likely to amplify the narrative, thereby promoting community resilience. This is achieved not just through the engagement with WTA Facebook posts but also through Welcome to Australia's other organised activities and campaigns that are attracting increasing support Australia wide, such as the 'Walk Together' campaigns.

The terrorist and cultural threat narrative similarly attracts thousands of supporters (the Facebook page investigated in Chapter Four has 93,000 followers) (Connelly 2016). However, Facebook's policy of connectedness and openness while facilitating this narrative also allows counter narratives to develop and proliferate. Understanding and exploiting this potential at the same time as working to restrict the terrorist and cultural threat narrative provides a way forward for those interested in ensuring all asylum seekers, refugees, migrants and Muslims feel welcomed and included as a valued part of a multicultural Australia.

CHAPTER NINE

CASE STUDY FOUR

TWITTER: A NARRATIVE OF HOPE

9.1. Introduction

This chapter presents the fourth case study highlighting community resilience to racism. This case study provides a direct contrast to case study two by focusing on an Australian Indigenous community counter narrative on Twitter.

As described in case study two (Chapter Six) social media such as Twitter allow the reproduction of a narrative of denial of racism against Indigenous Australians, despite evidence to the contrary. According to the CRaCR project survey (Jakubowicz et al., 2017), Indigenous Australians have experienced the highest rate of cyber racism in Australia. In addition, the findings of case study two (Chapter Six) demonstrated that despite such evidence the narrative of denial of racism on social media contributes to the continuation of the protection of white privilege in Australia and the disempowering of the Indigenous Australian voice.

However, Indigenous Australians are reclaiming their voice through the medium of a Twitter account called IndigenousX. The four IndigneousX voices examined in this chapter contribute to a counter narrative that is built from 600 tweets during January and February 2016. This narrative illuminates

how IndigenousX is a protected space where Indigenous Australian people from all walks of life can express themselves freely about topics that are important to them. IndigenousX tweeters are empowered to talk about difficult issues away from white Australian intrusion, thereby challenging racism and its denial. They also show positivity and diversity, challenging negative stereotypes and engendering a sense of hope for Indigenous Australians.

The IndigenousX narrative was previously explored in Chapter Seven where it was argued that it contributed to the building of an online community of resistance and solidarity. This chapter will extend this finding by demonstrating that the counter narrative contained in the IndigenousX tweets in this case study in particular and the IndigenousX Twitter account in general, also contributes to Australian Indigenous community resilience.

The background section of this chapter describes how the Internet and social media such as Twitter allow the reproduction of narratives that reflect the already existing white Australian racist narrative against Indigenous Australians. It also explores health consequences and anti-racism efforts, including emerging community resilience research. The methods section describes how the Twitter narrative was constructed. The results section describes the topics found in the posts and how they counter the white Australian narrative. The discussion section then considers how this narrative represents community resilience in Indigenous Australian communities.

9.2. Background

As described in Chapter Two, almost 35% of Australian Internet users have experienced cyber racism, and those from an Indigenous Australian background are the most common targets (Jakubowicz et al., 2017). The civil society organisation, the Online Hate Prevention Institute (OHPI), documented many instances of blatant racism against Indigenous Australians on social media in a 2012 report that focused on the spread of racist memes that portray negative stereotypes of Indigenous Australians and contain derogatory comments (Oboler, 2012). While these memes have been removed from Facebook in Australia (they are still able to be seen overseas), other forms of cyber racism against Indigenous Australians persist. As described in case study two (Chapter Six) high-profile Indigenous Australian Football League (AFL) player Adam Goodes was the target of vilification on Twitter and on public Facebook pages over an extended period, eventually contributing to his leaving the AFL. Focus group research as part of the CRaCR project (Jakubowicz et al., 2017) also highlighted the increased risk of racism for the Indigenous Australian social media participants. There appears to be no safe place where Indigenous Australians are free from racism on social media.

In addition, Paradies and Cunningham's (2012b) research shows that racism against Indigenous Australians is a major contributor to their poor health and disadvantage. They explain:

Exposure to racism as a form of stress can give rise to a range of factors that contribute to ill health. These factors include negative emotional

states, reduced self-esteem, low self-efficacy and reduced self-control as well as pessimism, aggression, hyper-vigilance, and rumination. Racism has also been linked to hypertension, cortisol dysregulation, sleep disturbance, obesity, and smoking as well as alcohol and illicit drug use. These factors have, in turn, been associated with poor mental and physical health (p.12).

Similarly, the health impacts of cyber racism on those who are the targets of racism, including Indigenous Australians, range from frustration and anger to humiliation and depression (Jakubowicz et al., 2017).

Attempts made so far by the Australian government to improve Indigenous Australian health and disadvantage have largely failed. Kowal (2015) suggests that attitudes towards Indigenous Australians even by those who wish to assist them may contribute to this situation. Kowal (2015) describes a perception of Indigenous Australian people and their culture as being stuck in the past and unable to adapt to the dominant white culture. In addition, Indigenous Australian people are portrayed as lazy, drunk and dependent on welfare (Graham, 2015). These depictions on the one hand blame Indigenous people and their culture for their plight and on the other do not consider their capacity for agency regarding their own future. These portrayals are also exacerbated by systemic racism and narratives of denial of racism and white privilege (as described in case study two (Chapter Six)). These narratives contribute to Australian Indigenous disadvantage and ill-health through the invalidation of the Indigenous perspective and therefore their disempowerment.

Anti-racism efforts may contribute to lessening systemic racism, but its continuation indicates that the impact of these efforts is limited. Most anti-racism efforts and research are conducted by bystanders, including concerned white Australians. While bystander anti-racism may have the potential to contribute to counter narratives, in the case of Indigenous Australians it may also inadvertently contribute to ongoing racism because of a lack of Indigenous Australian empowerment (Kowal, 2015). In a similar way to government intervention, bystander anti-racism and research may privilege the white perspective.

Looking at responses to racism by the targets of racism that contribute to their empowerment may give insight into community resilience, the focus of this chapter. Research on community resilience and empowerment in relation to Indigenous Australians is yet to be fully explored in Australia. As described in Chapters Two and Eight, research on everyday community resilience has so far focused on recovery after natural disaster and also social issues such as the resettlement of refugees and prevention of radicalisation of Muslim Youth (Jakubowicz 2015; Mitchell, Kaplan and Crowe 2007; Schuetz 2011).

Specific research on methods for promoting community resilience in response to racism as a prominent social issue in Indigenous Australian communities is limited. Nissim (2014) observes that for individual Indigenous Australians, resilience in the face of racism is about maintaining a strong sense of self-respect. A study by Bodkin-Andrews (2013), on which Nissim's (2014) analysis is partly based, identifies a number of techniques used by the

individual Indigenous Australian participants in his research as “agents of resiliency”. These include “acknowledging racism”, “emotional distancing”, “staying positive”, “[a strong] sense of [Indigenous] identity”, “seeking support”, “staying calm”, and “challenging racism” (Bodkin-Andrews, 2013 pp. 14–15). In terms of community resilience to racism it seems likely that these key elements of individual resilience would also need to extend to Indigenous communities.

From a social media perspective, there are no studies that this author is aware of that specifically focus on community resilience in Indigenous Australian communities. However, the high use of social media use by Indigenous Australians, especially young people, has lead to a body of research exploring various aspects of this use (Jakubowicz et al., 2017). Carlson (2013) notes that in the Facebook pages explored in her research, social media is used by Indigenous Australians to build, display and assert their identity. This public affirmation of identity helps individuals feel connected to the Indigenous Australian community (Carlson, 2013; Petray, 2013). In addition, social media can be used to construct a less essentialised view of what it means to be an Indigenous Australian, which contributes to discrediting stereotypes (Petray, 2013). Other social media researchers note the potential use of social media for general health promotion and suicide prevention because of the high level of social media use (Askander, 2015; Carson, Farrelly, Frazer and Borthwick, 2015; Rice, Haynes, Royce and Thompson, 2016). While identity building and health promotion on social media could be regarded as contributing to

Indigenous Australian community resilience, none of the studies mentioned here has explored this potential.

Studies that explore the potential of social media to contribute to community resilience in Indigenous communities are beginning to emerge internationally. One recent study by Rodgers and Scobie (2015) shows that social media can be used by Canadian Indigenous groups to counter negative social media campaigns. This study explored Canadian Inuit use of social media to counter a social media campaign that portrayed their practice of seal hunting as cruel and unnecessary. The Canadian Inuits put forward a counter narrative that explained the cultural aspect of seal hunting, their dependency on seals for survival, and their humane way of killing them. The study found that bringing Canadian Inuits together to work towards a common goal strengthened their common bond and belief in themselves and contributed to their community resilience. This bonding element can be added to Bodkin-Andrew's list of agents of resiliency.

With its potential wide audience, social media can be exploited not just for spreading racism and its denial but for community resilience as well. From an Indigenous Australian perspective, community resilience to racism on social media would include the components suggested by Bodkin-Andrews and Rodgers and Scobie. Social media offers the possibility of empowerment of the Indigenous Australian voice and the challenging of racism, including challenging the denial of racism narrative. This research will explore this

possibility through an examination of tweets on the IndigenousX Twitter account.

9.3. Methods

The researcher analysed 600 tweets posted by four guest tweeters on the IndigenousX Twitter account in January and February 2016. The administrator of the site gave permission to contact the tweeters directly and all four gave consent to the use of their tweets in this study on the condition that they were de-identified.

The narrative in the IndigenousX tweets was constructed by identifying common themes and topics using NVivo. The identification of emotion words also added an additional layer of understanding to this narrative. The narrative is analysed in the context of events that impacted on Indigenous Australians during the study period and the historical development of a cultural exclusion narrative that includes stereotyping and direct racism towards Indigenous Australians.

9.4. Results

9.4.1. Building the IndigenousX Counter Narrative

As described in Chapter Seven, the IndigenousX Twitter account (IndigenousX, 2018b) was created as an extension of a private Twitter account to increase awareness, understanding and respect for Indigenous Australians

and their issues among the general Australian population (IndigenousX, 2018a). It provides an opportunity for 52 Indigenous Australians per year to share their knowledge, opinions and experiences. Each week a different Indigenous Australian tweets about any topics they consider important.

The topics tweeted about by the four tweeters in the research period were used to build a narrative (described in detail in Chapter Seven) that acts as a counter narrative to the dominant white Australian narrative. This is a narrative of empowerment through resistance to this dominant narrative. Events such as Australia Day (26 January), which is referred to by tweeters as ‘invasion day’ and Prime Minister Kevin Rudd’s apology to the stolen generation for the forced removal of children from their families (Australian Government, 2018a), are presented from the tweeters point of view, which contrasts the dominant white Australian view of these events.

Other tweets explored the ongoing trauma and subjugation of Indigenous Australians in relation to the continuing gap between the mental and physical health of Indigenous Australians and other Australians. They also highlighted racist incidents that appeared to go unnoticed or are ‘whitewashed’ by mainstream Australian media. Another aspect of the narrative is cultural revival through education. Tweeters argue that recognition and maintenance of Indigenous Australian languages and cultures is likely to contribute to a greater understanding and respect for Indigenous Australians. These tweets add to the counter narrative, challenging existing government policy and racism.

The IndigenousX connection with the online news site *The Guardian*, which publishes an opinion piece written by each guest tweeter also helps to build the counter narrative (Guardian News and Media, 2018). These pieces demonstrate the different life experiences and backgrounds of all guest tweeters. During the period of this research the guest tweeters included a musician, a teacher, a journalist and a solicitor and they came from both urban and rural backgrounds. Their opinion pieces added context to the counter narrative.

The analysis of the emotion in the tweets also added another level of understanding of the counter narrative. Previous research by Mohammad and Kiritchenko (2015) found that tweets, as with all language, are used to convey a range of emotions. An exploration of some common emotion words used in the IndigenousX tweets shows 87.5% were positive, featuring the words ‘amazing’ and ‘awesome’. ‘Love’ and ‘hope’ were the most common emotion words expressed, showing that optimism prevailed despite the many negative aspects of the the IndigenousX counter narrative.

9.5. Discussion

This analysis focuses on how the IndigenousX counter narrative contributes to community resilience. The counter narrative is strengthened and extended through the IndigenousX community, thereby challenging the dominant white Australian racist narrative. This is a narrative that ignores parts of history, paints Indigenous Australians as victims without hope, undermines their value as part of Australian culture, and contributes to their continued suffering.

Prior to social media and specifically IndigneousX there were very few opportunities for Indigenous Australian counter narratives to be expressed in the print media where they were not affected by the white Australian narrative. According to Breen (2015), “The routine journalism practices involved in newsgathering, news-writing and news-editing work against a fair and balanced representation [of Indigenous Australians]”. These journalism practices make it extremely difficult for the Indigenous Australian perspective to be put forward. Instead the white Australian narrative permeates Australian print media, celebrating British history and cultural values and avoiding or ignoring aspects of history and Indigenous cultures that do not align with the dominant white view.

While many Indigenous Australians may have knowledge and views that could contribute to improving this lack of understanding and respect, they may be reluctant to express them individually in the mainstream media or on other social media platforms because of potential negative repercussions and trolling. In addition, as Dreher, Mccalum and Waller (2016) argue, the problem for individuals is “the uncertainty of being heard in the key spheres of influence mainstream media and policy-makers” (p. 34). IndigneousX offers the opportunity for many individual voices to come together in one place, offering a sense of protection, building the strength of the counter narrative and contributing to the potential of it being heard in key spheres of influence.

The IndigneousX Twitter account allows the development of a counter narrative that focuses on versions of events from Indigenous Australian

perspectives. This counter narrative promotes community resilience through the empowerment of Indigenous Australians to challenge racism and the dominant white Australian narrative. Bodkin-Andrews (2013) identifies challenging racism as a key component of Indigenous Australian resilience. The individuals in the Bodkin Andrews' study felt empowered through the 'performance' of counter narratives. Similarly, the expression of counter narratives on the IndigenousX account challenges racism and contributes to the empowerment of individual tweeters. Furthermore, the combined voices of the IndigenousX community constitutes a critical mass of people who are questioning the dominant white narrative and calling for an end to racism, therefore contributing to the community's resilience.

These collective voices also potentially contribute to a sense of common identity through their experience of being part of the IndigenousX community. This sense of common identity is another component of community resilience that has previously been identified in relation to online Canadian Inuit communities (Rodgers and Scobie 2015). The Canadian Inuits felt a sense of common identity through their collective action over a particular issue that affected many of their people. The common identity among the IndigenousX tweeters is not so much through collective action over a singular issue, it is a common identity that recognises a range of issues that affect Australian Indigenous peoples.

Another aspect that the IndigenousX tweeters and their followers have in common is their apparent acceptance of the diversity of identity of Indigenous

Australians. In other places Indigenous Australians are often characterised as one people. However, they are descendant from over 500 clan groups all from over Australia with their own distinct cultures and languages. The diversity of the IndigenousX tweeters and their backgrounds reflects the diversity of Indigenous Australians more generally. In addition, the varied identity of the IndigenousX tweeters does not appear to be questioned.

This acceptance of diversity among IndigenousX tweeters and their followers is unusual. In other online forums there is some evidence that Indigenous Australian identity is contested (even within the Indigenous Australian population): skin colour and ancestry are judged; and urban and rural identities are contrasted, with some considered more authentic than others (Petray, 2013). The reason this does not happen on IndigenousX is not obvious. Paradies (2016) suggests that separating indigeneity from essentialism is likely to lead to the acknowledgement of Indigenous diversity. This is shown subtly on IndigenousX through the lack of questioning about the identity of the guest tweeters. This implicit recognition of Indigenous diversity is likely to build community resilience by promoting a fundamental acceptance of all Indigenous Australians, no matter what their identity or life experience.

In fact, the IndigenousX counter narrative goes further by characterising this diversity as ‘excellence’. IndigenousX celebrates the excellence of the tweeters (represented by the ‘X’ in IndigenousX). Excellence is ‘performed’ through the diverse ways each of the IndigenousX guest tweeters experiences the world and communicates their opinions, thus expressing their powerful individuality.

This contrasts the many negative stereotypes present in the white Australian dominated Australian media.

The emotion words in the tweets also contradict negative emotions attributed to Indigenous Australians such as hopelessness and depression (Graham, 2015).

The strong presence of emotions such as love and hope in their tweets shows a positivity that Bodkin-Andrews (2013) argues is also necessary for resilience.

A positive outlook despite the adversity of racism helped Bodkin-Andrew's research participants to maintain their self respect. The positivity in the emotion words in the IndigenousX tweets in this study is also likely to contribute to their individual self respect as well as the respect of the IndigenousX community.

This positive outlook also comes through in the focus on topics that emphasise Indigenous Australian cultural maintenance through education, languages and cultural revival. Cultural resilience has been identified as an important aspect of community resilience (Fleming and Ledogar 2008). Healy (2006) points out that the retention of key elements of a community's structure and identity helps to preserve its distinctiveness and is vital for its resilience. IndigenousX acts as a platform for promoting ideas related to cultural maintenance, in contrast to the white narrative that focuses on cultural extinction.

The opportunities provided by IndigenousX for empowerment of Indigenous Australians to challenge the white narrative and put forward a counter narrative is also possible because of the relative safety provided by IndigenousX.

Despite Twitter being a public platform and the possibility that anyone can be a follower of IndigenousX tweets, no trolls or detractors were detected during the research period, and most comments were very supportive. The administrator, Luke Pearson (personal communication), argues that the reason for this is that people respect IndigenousX as a space for Indigenous people to express their thoughts and feelings. In addition, although it does not happen often, negative comments can be removed.

Even so, this does not completely explain why IndigenousX acts as a safe space; in other social media spaces trolling is evident and identity contestation is present (OHPI, 2016f; Petray, 2013). The respect shown on IndigenousX may have something to do with the way IndigenousX acts as a platform for individual tweeters. A guest tweeter's time on IndigenousX is limited to only one week, so there is barely enough time for their trolls or detractors to develop their strategies. During the week in which they tweet, these individual guest tweeters are autonomous and do not interact with other guest tweeters or followers, which also potentially limits any potential disagreements between tweeters. At the same time, these tweeters are part of a bigger group that is gaining in size and strength while contributing to the idea that IndigenousX is a safe space for Indigenous Australians.

The growth, spread and longevity of the IndigenousX narrative could also contribute to its protective qualities. Compared to some Facebook pages and Twitter accounts the number of likes and retweets (shares) is not high on the IndigenousX Twitter account. However, with over 200 guest tweeters and

43,000 followers (June 2018), it appears to be gaining momentum as a respected Indigenous community voice. It is also worth noting that Luke Pearson (as the representative of IndigenousX) has been asked to comment on many Indigenous issues in the mainstream media (e.g. ‘The Project’ on network television station Channel 10). In addition, the inclusion of the guest tweeter profiles in *The Guardian Australia* “can be thought of in terms of ‘amplification’, in a process whereby Indigenous voices expressed by participatory media can be relayed into more mainstream public spheres” (Waller, Dreher and McCallum 2015, p. 63). This suggests that IndigenousX is becoming recognised as having a strong voice in Indigenous affairs. It appears that the longer it exists and the more popular it becomes, the more IndigenousX acts as a protected space.

9.6. Conclusion

The success of IndigenousX is unusual because of the way it exploits the opportunities provided by Twitter. The ability to rotate guests on a weekly basis simultaneously acts as protected space while at the same time building the community. The voices of the individual tweeters are empowered through the strength of the many. This demonstrates that while social media can be used to spread racist narratives it can also be exploited to build a strong and vibrant community that builds a powerful counter narrative.

The IndigenousX counter narrative is built by individual Indigenous Australians from all walks of life expressing themselves about topics that are

important to them. Not only do IndigenousX tweeters feel empowered to challenge racism and its denial through the presentation of their own perspective away from white Australian intrusion, they are also able to show their positivity and diversity, thereby challenging stereotypes and negative portrayals and engendering a sense of hope for Indigenous Australian communities. The growing popularity of IndigenousX also contributes to this resilience narrative being spread beyond IndigenousX followers to the rest of Australia. This amplification increases the potential of IndigenousX being heard in the key spheres of influence such as mainstream media, and by policy makers, further increasing the resilience of Indigenous Australians.

CHAPTER TEN

CONCLUSION

10.1. Introduction

The recognition of the rapidly growing problem of cyber racism in Australia led to the establishment of the Cyber Racism and Community Resilience (CRaCR) project. This project explored the phenomenon of cyber racism from many different perspectives with the aim of developing a greater understanding about how it operates and what can be done to curb its influence. As part of the CRaCR project, the research that this thesis is based on adds an anthropological perspective, focusing on the cultural basis of racism. The aim has been to develop insights into the basis of worldviews related to cultural exclusion on social media in the context of multiculturalism in Australia, and to develop an understanding about how these worldviews can be challenged to promote community resilience. The specific research questions explored were:

1. How do cultural exclusion narratives on social media undermine a culturally inclusive worldview in multicultural nations such as Australia?
2. How do counter narratives on social media challenge cultural exclusion narratives and contribute to community resilience in targeted communities?

This chapter synthesises the key findings of the research questions to demonstrate how they met the research aims and explains the key contributions made by the research to existing literature.

10.2. Reproducing Cultural Exclusion and Denial

Narratives on Social Media

As described in Chapter One, the Introduction, an anthropological perspective focuses on emphasising the role of culture in the social construction of racism. While there are few studies that have taken this specific perspective in Australia, the cross discipline review into everyday racism in Australia in Chapter Two reveals the development of the concept of ‘new racisms’. This concept describes the way understanding about Australian racism has shifted from emphasising racial superiority (old racisms) to emphasising problematic cultural difference or cultural incompatibility (new racisms) (Forrest and Dunn, 2007; Jayasuriya, 2002; Pedersen, Dunn, Forrest and McGarty, 2012). Problematic cultural difference or cultural incompatibility is then used to justify the exclusion of some cultural groups from the Australian national identity narrative.

The first two case studies analysed (see Chapters Four and Five) exemplify the exclusion of cultural groups on the basis of problematic cultural difference. The key findings in this section (10.2) demonstrate the basis of worldviews that promote such cultural exclusion narratives.

Underlying the narratives in the first two case studies is the expression of white power and privilege. These case studies espouse cultural exclusion narratives on the basis that they have the right to do so as representative of the dominant white (and in case study two, male) cultural group. The analysis of case study one demonstrates that these rights are displayed explicitly through the judgment of cultural values as Australian and acceptable or Muslim and unacceptable. The authors of the Facebook posts propose that Muslims should be excluded from the national identity narrative on that basis. Jayasuriya (2002) points out that in a similar way to racism based on racial superiority, racism based on cultural exclusion is reflective of the belief in the cultural superiority of white Australian culture, as shown in case study one.

In case study two the expression of white power and privilege is not immediately obvious because the tweeters do not explicitly judge Indigenous cultural values as inferior. However, they do accuse prominent Indigenous football player Adam Goodes of lacking credibility because of his anti-racist stance and expression of Indigenous culture. The analysis of case study two shows that underlying this accusation is an implicit judgment about the unacceptability of the Indigenous voice and cultural expression based on existing 'cultural conditions'. These cultural conditions refer to the privileging of the white narrative in relation to Indigenous Australian history and culture. To support these findings a further examination of the identity of the tweeters shows they are predominantly from a white male background. In a similar way to case study one, the tweeters believe they have the right to decide which Indigenous cultural expression is acceptable as representative of the dominant

white and male Australian population, again demonstrating cultural (and gender-based) superiority.

It is also possible to connect the expression of cultural superiority on the basis of white power and privilege to the denial of racism. The denial of racism is particularly obvious in case study two where a small number of tweeters specifically state that their comments are not racist in response to mainstream media coverage that argues that the vilification of Goodes is racially based. It is also argued that the other tweeters in this case study also tacitly deny racism by not acknowledging their white power and privilege. These findings are similar to Dunn and Nelson's (2011) findings, which showed that almost half of the people in their study did not connect white power and privilege with racism. Similarly, case study one does not explicitly deny racism. However, the focus on the cultural incompatibility of Muslim culture with Australian culture in this case study also indirectly denies racism. As Nelson (2015) explains, when multicultural societies such as Australia down play reference to racial superiority and focus on problematic cultural difference, they also deny the existence of racism.

Cultural exclusion narratives based on problematic cultural difference are also linked to nationalism. Australian research shows that a nationalistic agenda promotes narrow cultural inclusion criteria and focuses on protecting Australia and Australian values from external threats (Griffiths and Pedersen, 2009). In a similar way to Griffiths and Pedersen's (2009) research, case study one shows that Muslims are excluded based on a focus on negative cultural stereotypes to

create the impression of incompatibility with (the narrow definition of) Australian culture and that all Muslims pose a terrorist threat. These findings are also similar to Hanson-Easey's (2014) research into everyday racism showing that stereotyping is used to attribute essentialised negative cultural traits to some ethnic groups. In addition, it is not entirely clear what constitutes Australia culture other than it derives from a white British Christian heritage.

The first two key findings demonstrate the way racism in the form of cultural exclusion narratives are now also present on social media. Previous Australian research focuses on the contribution of the negative portrayal of cultural groups other than white Australians in Australian media. This research highlights the way these portrayals perpetuate Anglo or white Privilege (Goodall et al., 1994; Jakubowicz, 2008). International research also acknowledges the way everyday racism is reproduced on the Internet (Bliuc et al., 2016; Daniels, 2012; Tynes et al., 2013). The findings of these studies have been extended to show how everyday racism in the form of cultural exclusion narratives are reproduced on social media.

10.3. Undermining a Culturally Inclusive Worldview

The anthropological perspective taken in this thesis also draws on the work of Vertovec (2011) and Gupta and Ferguson (2012) who describe how worldviews related to national identity in multicultural nations are produced and maintained through relations of power in the context the history and the politics of those nations. As described in Chapter Four, the history of British

colonisation and the early preference for white Australian migration lead to the privileging of a white British Christian worldview, assimilationist policies and the exclusion of cultural groups who did not adopt these cultural values. As multiculturalism increased and became more widely accepted, other worldviews that promote cultural inclusion and embracing cultural difference emerged. However, while 83% Australians appear to support multiculturalism, their support of cultural inclusion is not straightforward, with 59.5% of people agreeing that “people who come to Australia should change their behavior to be more like Australians”, indicating they are unclear about cultural inclusion or embracing cultural difference (Markus, 2016, p. 51).

The key findings in this section relate to how cultural exclusion narratives on social media undermine a culturally inclusive worldview. The analysis used in determining the findings in this section is based on the premise that to undermine a culturally inclusive worldview, cultural exclusion narratives need to be popularised beyond the ‘echo chamber’ of the perpetrators social media communities. The analysis explored tactics used to achieve popularisation and also attempted to measure their success.

The opportunity for popularisation lies in the capacity to influence the 59.5% of Australians who are unsure about cultural inclusion and who are also social media users. The tactics used by online communities and individuals is an appeal to already existing doubts about cultural compatibility. Case study one shows that the Facebook community attempts this appeal in an overt way by highlighting negative stereotypes and creating a sense of fear about Muslim

Australians, adding to already existing fears. Case studies one and two (Chapters Five and Six) also show this is done in a subtle way by perpetuating cultural exclusion narratives based on already existing narratives of white privilege and the denial of racism as previously described.

The success in popularising these cultural exclusion narratives is somewhat difficult to determine. Existing literature argues that racism is facilitated on social media because of the ease of interaction between social media users and the relatively few consequences for posting racist material (Fernandez, 2016; Van Dijck, 2013; Waller et al., 2016). Social media platforms make interactions between users easy through sharing options (including liking or reacting and commenting) that are designed to facilitate connections in both a social and business sense. Social media platforms enable users to share any content they wish, including content that espouses cultural exclusion narratives.

The ability to share such content is facilitated through the prioritising of the right to free speech over other human rights such as the right to be free from racism. This prioritisation is reflected in company policies that promote sharing “information instantly, without barriers” (Twitter Inc., 2018) and “freedom to share whatever information they want” (Facebook, 2018a). The literature review in Chapter Two argues that these policies reflect the cultural values of the white US founders of social media companies such as Facebook or Twitter (Facebook, 2018b; Glaser, 2016).

Australia recognises that free speech is important, but this is also balanced with laws that recognise the right to be protected from racism. The Australian Racial Discrimination Act provides civil protection from racism (Australian Government, 1975). Australian states also have their own racial discrimination laws, some also protecting against religious vilification. Recent challenges to the Racial Discrimination Act have also upheld this protection. However, other research as part of the CRaCR project shows that Australia does not have an effective way of monitoring, responding to or having hate speech removed (Jakubowicz et al., 2017). This means that much of the racism on social media in Australia is not dealt with effectively and therefore flourishes.

Australian Facebook communities and individual tweeters take advantage of the ability to share and the lack of regulation or consequences to proliferate cultural exclusion narratives and grow their communities. Case study one is an example of an online Facebook community that has been reported as racist to the Online Hate Prevention Institute (OHPI) yet was able to proliferate such narratives without consequences. At the time of the first case study, the ability to spread narratives beyond the page-followers was easy because the automatic settings were public, but Facebook policies have since changed to make the automatic setting for posts private, making spreading narratives beyond the page more difficult. However, despite these changes Facebook Page1 is still able to build and extend their community as is shown by the continual growth in followers. In 2015, this page had approximately 58,500 followers compared to 98,000 current followers (June, 2018).

Case study two shows how individual tweeters can freely express views that build a cultural exclusion narrative without concern for potential consequences. While the individual tweets are not shared to any great extent, all the followers of each tweeter may see them if they are online. On the day this event occurred the number of tweets spiked, so the potential numbers of people seeing the posts also increased dramatically. According to research conducted for marketing purposes, the average number of followers of Twitter accounts in Australia is 315 (Young, 2016). When this is multiplied by the number of tweeters (225) on the day the tweets spiked, this amounts to 70,875 people potentially seeing these posts. This increased number demonstrates Miller et al.'s (2016) theory of social scalability, thereby increasing the potential social influence of the cultural exclusion narrative.

The key findings in this section show that online communities and individuals are utilising the opportunities provided by social media to proliferate cultural exclusion narratives. The tactics used to influence social media users who are unsure about cultural inclusion include overtly highlighting negative stereotypes, creating a sense of fear about Muslims and subtly perpetuating white privilege and denial narratives. There is some evidence that these narratives are reaching a growing number of people, increasing their scope and potential impact, indicating that they may be contributing to the undermining of a culturally inclusive worldview. However, it is not possible to conclusively claim that this has occurred.

10.4. Challenging Cultural Exclusion Narratives on Social Media

To date cyber anti-racism literature in Australia comes primarily from the CRaCR project. The main findings in relation to cyber anti-racism (other than those in this thesis) highlight the size and scope of the problem of cyber racism and the difficulties of responding in a meaningful way. It is also noted that there are many potential reactive (such as reporting) and proactive (such as education) cyber anti-racism responses, but these have yet to be fully activated or researched (Jakubowicz et al., 2017).

However, there is a large body of research that focuses on everyday anti-racism in Australia (for example, Berman and Paradies, 2010; Dunn and Forrest, 2009; Kowal, Franklin and Paradies, 2013; Nelson, 2015; Paradies, Forrest, et al., 2009; Pedersen, Walker and Wise, 2005; Trenerry, 2016; Walton et al., 2014). The literature review in Chapter Two highlights the entrenched nature, varied experience and negative impact of all forms of racism in Australia and the need for multi-faceted responses. It also demonstrates how different sections of society have countered racism, including Governments, institutions, organisations and non-government organisations (NGOs). Responses so far focus on reducing negative beliefs and discriminatory behaviour by white Australians (*perpetrators*) towards Indigenous and culturally and linguistically diverse (CALD) Australians. Some responses are also directed towards people who witness racism (*bystanders*) to call out racism and stand in solidarity with those who experience racism (*targets*).

Nissim (2014) notes that recent Australian research and initiatives primarily focus on state-sanctioned, rather than community-led, anti-racism strategies and on the *perpetrators* and *bystanders* to racism rather than the *targets*. This may be because opportunities for targets to respond to racism have been limited by the fragmentation of their communities, the undermining of their voice by the dominant white voice and the lack of a safe space in which to express their opinions. However, in a similar way to cultural exclusion narratives, narratives challenging cultural exclusion are also now also appearing on social media.

While these narratives potentially provide a rich source of data for research, to date this author is unaware of Australian research that utilises this potential. Two of the case studies in this thesis explore counter narratives that challenge cultural exclusion narratives with findings in this section demonstrating the basis of these counter narratives.

Counter narratives directly challenge cultural exclusion narratives based on the denial of racism. The denial of racism ignores the historical and political context of racism in Australia (Nelson, 2015; Paradies, 2016). However, the counter narrative in case study four (Chapter Nine) presents an Indigenous Australian version of Australian history that highlights the historical and political context of racism towards Indigenous Australians. This includes the forced colonisation of Indigenous lands by the British, early government policies that forcibly removed Indigenous children from their families, more recent failed government policies designed to improve systemic Indigenous

disadvantage, and the diminution of Indigenous language and culture. This version of events highlights past and present racist policies and practices, thereby directly challenging the denial in cultural exclusion narratives. This finding adds to research by Nelson (2015) that focuses on the importance of ‘speaking racism’ for anti-racism to be effective.

Counter narratives also directly and indirectly challenge negative stereotypes put forward in cultural exclusion narratives. Case study three directly challenges the Muslim terrorist and cultural threat narrative by putting forward a narrative that highlights the positive experiences of and contribution to Australian society by Muslim Australians. This narrative is conveyed through the reposting of positive personal stories that have been portrayed in the mainstream media and through the refuting of negative or incorrect comments about Muslims. These findings contribute to research that argues that reducing negative beliefs about other cultural groups will reduce racism (Donovan and Vlasis, 2006).

Case study four indirectly challenges the negative stereotyping of Indigenous Australians through the promotion of Indigenous excellence. IndigenousX celebrates Indigenous excellence through the profiling of the IndigenousX tweeters on the *Guardian Australia* news site. The ‘X’ in IndigenousX stands for excellence. IndigenousX demonstrates that “excellence can be ‘performed’ through the diversity of the guest tweeters, their different ways of experiencing and communicating their worlds and their powerful individuality” (Jakubowicz et al., 2017, p. 241). These findings also add to Kowal’s (2015) anti-racism

research by disproving the assumption that Indigenous Australians are stuck in the past or lacking agency.

In addition, these narratives directly counter cultural exclusion narratives by calling for cultural inclusion. The name of the Facebook page in case study four, 'Welcome To Australia', immediately conveys a sense of inclusion for new migrants, including Muslims. The analysis of the narrative on this Facebook page shows that the proactive and reactive posts and responses on this page also work together to foster a sense of inclusion. These findings support The Victorian Health Promotion Foundation *Building on our strengths* report (Paradies et al., 2009), which highlights the benefits to all Australians of "an inclusive, welcoming and tolerant national identity" (p. 4).

The findings reported in this section highlight the way case studies three and four take advantage of the opportunities provided by social media to put forward counter narratives that challenge cultural exclusion narratives such as those found in the case studies one and two. The findings show that the bases of these narratives are the direct challenging of the denial narrative against Indigenous Australians, the direct challenging of negative Muslim stereotypes, the indirect challenging of negative Indigenous Australian stereotypes, and the direct challenge to cultural exclusion. These findings contribute to Australian anti-racism research with novel findings about the anti-racism potential of target community narratives on social media.

10.5. Building Cyber Community Resilience Against Racism

Despite anti-racism efforts, Australian everyday racism, including cyber racism, continues to exist. As described in Chapter Two everyday racism has severe mental and physical health consequences for the targets (Paradies et al., 2015; Priest et al., 2013). Cyber racism has similar consequences, with CRaCR project research also showing that targets felt angry and abused about their exposure to cyber racism (Jakubowicz et al., 2017). While continued anti-racism efforts may contribute to better outcomes for targeted communities, it is now recognised that additional approaches that focus on community resilience against racism in targeted communities are needed.

The literature review in Chapter Two demonstrates how previous Australian community resilience research has focused on community resilience primarily in terms of how it can help to prevent violent extremism (Jakubowicz, 2015; Johns et al., 2014). The focus is on breaking down barriers between different cultures in order to facilitate better awareness about others, greater understanding and improved communication, thereby improving social cohesion. While important in Australia and possibly related to racism, social cohesion is not the primary focus of this thesis. However, the strategies identified by Jakubowicz (2015) including education, skill building, mentoring and the civic participation of members of migrant communities (for example, in sporting clubs), are also applied in this research to demonstrate how they can contribute to community resilience to racism.

Only one Australian study (that this author is aware of) prior to the CRaCR project has identified resilience techniques that could be used overcome the negative impacts of racism. This study by Bodkin-Andrews (2013) specifically explored individuals' resilience to racism in Indigenous Australian communities. As previously described in Chapter's Two and Seven, Bodkin-Andrews (2013) identified a number of techniques used by the individual Indigenous Australian participants in his research as "agents of resiliency". These include "acknowledging racism", "emotional distancing", "staying positive", "[a strong] sense of [Indigenous] identity", "seeking support", "staying calm", and "challenging racism" (pp. 14-15). In addition, an international study on community resilience using Twitter found that working towards a common goal against racism strengthened a community's common bond and belief in themselves (Rodgers and Scobie, 2015). The key findings in this section will demonstrate how counter narratives contributed to community resilience to racism in targeted Muslim and Indigenous Australian communities.

The most significant finding relating to community resilience deals with the enabling of safe spaces for the expression of counter narratives. In everyday situations, members of target groups may feel exposed and unable to speak up about their situation. Furthermore, in online situations individuals may be the subject of online trolling or threats (such as that directed towards Adam Goodes in case study two) that may create an unsafe online and offline environment. However, this analysis found, rather unexpectedly, that the ways the administrators of the Facebook page and the Twitter account in case studies

three and four operate their accounts enabled a safe space where members of target groups and their supporters feel confident to express their views.

The Welcome to Australia Facebook page in case study three operates a safe space despite it being open to potential trolling. Although the administrators are the authors of posts on the page, comments can be made by followers or members of the public. Safety is maintained through moderating the comments and through refuting false claims thus showing solidarity with targets. The IndigenousX Twitter account has also developed a reputation as a safe space for individual tweeters. The administrator of the account moderates tweets and responses, and trolling and threats are rare. This could be explained by the way IndigenousX operates as a rotating account, with guest tweeters only tweeting for one week, thereby limiting a tweeter's exposure. It could also be argued that only those people who respect IndigenousX are followers. This finding adds to Nissim's (2014) argument that a culturally safe space can provide a sanctuary from racism.

The safety and sanctuary of these Facebook pages and the Twitter account also facilitate the activation of other 'agents of resiliency' as identified by Bodkin Andrews (2013) further means for resilience as identified by Scobie and Rodgers (2015) and strategies identified by Jakubowicz (2015). The analysis of case studies three and four demonstrates the facilitation of these agents, means of resilience and strategies:

1. Racism is *acknowledged and challenged* through the contesting of cultural stereotypes in both case studies and in the IndigenousX case the contesting of the white version of history.
2. *Knowledge and awareness* is increased through the posting of personal stories and opinions in both case studies.
3. Participants have a *common bond* through the Facebook page and the Twitter account, so are therefore likely to develop a strong sense of *community identity*.
4. The evidence of positive emotion particularly in relation to the IndigenousX case study is likely to contribute to *emotional distancing* from racism and *staying calm* in the face of racism.
5. Engagement of the wider community may also assist in the building of *networks of civic participation*.

These findings add to Bodkin-Andrews' (2013), Scobie and Rodgers' (2015) and Jakubowicz's (2015) findings, demonstrating that these agents, means of resiliency and strategies are also activated in the counter narratives in these Facebook and Twitter communities. Furthermore, although not a focus of this research, the sharing of the experiences of members of the target groups from their perspectives is likely to facilitate greater understanding and empathy, potentially leading to the breaking down of barriers between groups and the reduction of racism.

The operation of these accounts as safe spaces and sanctuaries also contributes to the growth of these online communities. At the time of writing (June 2018), Welcome to Australia has close to 130,000 followers (which compares to Facebook Page1's 98,000 followers). IndigenousX has had over 200 Indigenous Australian guest Tweeters and has over 40,300 followers. In

addition, the inclusion of the IndigenousX weekly guest profiles in online news site *Guardian Australia* and its presence in other mainstream media may be thought of as a type of amplification, spreading the IndigenousX narrative to an even wider audience. The growth of these online communities is facilitated through the safety and sanctuary provided by them.

Building community resilience against racism is important because anti-racism efforts have not eliminated racism or cyber racism, and the impacts for targeted communities continue. This section has highlighted the way social media can be used to build community resilience in targeted communities. Crucial to this has been the novel finding of the enabling of safe social media spaces as demonstrated in case studies three and four. These safe spaces can be used by targeted communities to express counter narratives that empower them and facilitate the development of resilience agents and means, as described by Bodkin-Andrews (2013) and Scobie and Rodgers (2015).

10.6. Limitations and Opportunities for Further study

As stated in Chapter One, the CRaCR project is the first in Australia to make these areas a major focus of study. As has been identified in international research such as that by Daniels (2012), cyber racism is a rapidly growing problem that is under-researched. In addition the recognition of the cultural basis of 'new racisms' opens up opportunities for anthropologists to become more involved in the study of racism. While anthropologists have studied other aspects of Internet culture, including social media culture, few anthropologists

have taken up this opportunity in the fields of cyber racism and community resilience. While this thesis has made some inroads in these areas, it has only touched the surface.

Further anthropologically based research could add to our understanding of the way the growth of social media communities contributes to undermining a culturally inclusive worldview and how counter narratives contribute to community resilience in targeted communities. The research that this thesis is based on was limited to interrogating narratives on Facebook and Twitter. However, it may also be possible to get a more nuanced indication about how everyday worldviews have changed as a result of these narratives, thereby adding another layer of understanding to these findings. This further research could be modeled on the anthropologically based Global Social Media Impact Study that conducted simultaneous online and everyday social media research (Miller et al., 2016).

Further research could also extend into the area of social cohesion, including both the potential detrimental effect of the fragmentation of communities caused by cyber racism, and the potential contribution of community resilience to improving social cohesion in multicultural nations such as Australia. It is already known that fragmentation occurs when groups are under threat from racism, which can have a negative affect on social cohesion (Jakubowicz et al., 2017). It is reasonable to assume that cyber racism may contribute to this. Similarly, the resilience benefits of cyber anti-racism have been demonstrated

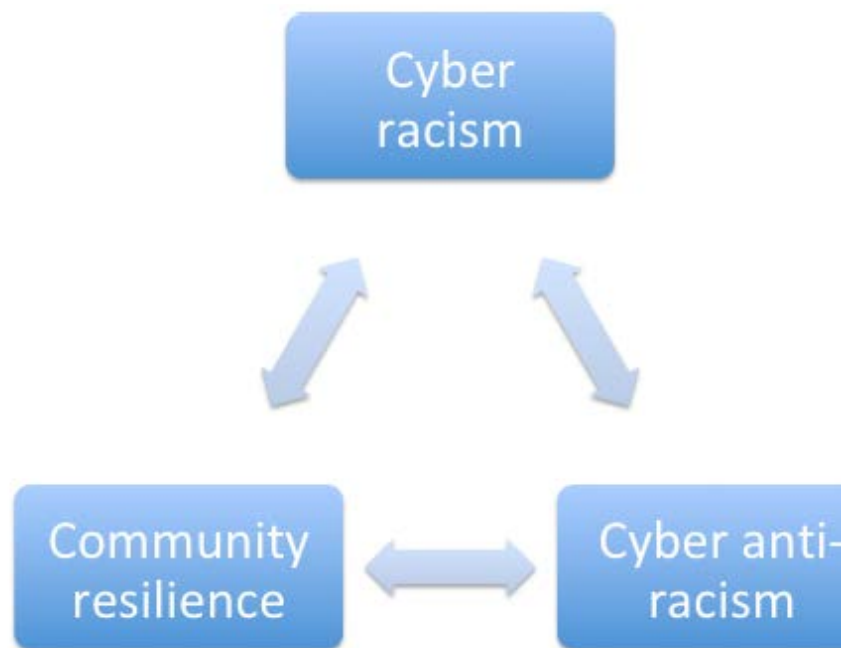
in this thesis might also be studied further in order to understand how they might improve social cohesion outcomes.

Finally, it is clear that target communities are acting in ways that could contribute to political and/or social change. The mechanisms that lead to such change through the use of social media are also beyond the scope of this research. However, there is great potential in understanding how the community resilience aspects of the use of social media by target communities could be extended to facilitate greater activism. This may motivate target communities themselves and their followers to develop a movement towards bringing about social and political change, including cultural inclusion.

10.7. Implications of the findings

This research has contributed to literature on cyber racism, cyber anti-racism and community resilience and has linked these concepts through an anthropological analysis of cultural exclusion narratives and counter narratives on Australian social media (see figure 10.1). It has revealed the importance of culture, white power and privilege in understanding cyber racism narratives on social media and how they relate to a culturally inclusive worldviews in multicultural nations such as Australia. It also reveals how counter narratives can be utilised to challenge white power and privilege and promote community resilience in targeted communities.

Figure 10.1 The connection between Cyber Racism, Cyber anti-racism and Community resilience.



Situated in the context of multiculturalism in Australia, this research has demonstrated that everyday racism in the form of cultural exclusion narratives are reproduced on social media. The findings have highlighted the cultural basis of these narratives, including the influence of white power and privilege in the social construction of problematic cultural difference. As previously described, earlier Australian research has demonstrated the way Australian media contributes to the perpetuation of Anglo or white privilege (Goodall et

al., 1994; Jakubowicz, 2008). This research extends this understanding to include how social media is now also involved in this process. It also contributes to international research related to the reproduction of everyday racism on social media by highlighting the role of cultural exclusion narratives in this reproduction (Bliuc et al., 2016; Daniels, 2012; Tynes et al., 2013).

In addition, it has been demonstrated that social media contributes to the production and maintenance of worldviews related to cultural exclusion from the Australian national identity narrative on the basis of problematic cultural difference. This includes the potential popularising of these worldviews, thereby undermining cultural inclusion.

10.7.1. Novel Anthropological Methodology

Anthropology like other disciplines is evolving to adapt to Internet field sites, including social media. These new field sites require new approaches to developing an in depth understanding, considering the textual basis of the data. The Social Media Impact Study is the largest example of the adaptation of traditional ethnography to social media (Miller et al., 2016). This study used both online and offline ethnography to understand social media use around the world.

However, the design of this current study and ethical limitations meant that other approaches needed to be explored. The adaptation of a narrative approach to social media is novel in anthropology. This approach provided a way of interpreting the authors' views about cultural inclusion and exclusion. The

contextualizing of these views within the wider Australian societal conditions allowed understanding about the basis of the worldviews and explanations for the reproduction and amplification of these narratives. This approach could be applied to other anthropologically based social media research.

10.7.2. Contribution to Anthropological Theory

An anthropological perspective recognises the way worldviews are produced and maintained through relations of power in multicultural nations (Gupta and Ferguson, 2012; Vertovec, 2011). Anthropological studies of racism focus on the basis and reproduction of worldviews related to cultural difference in the context of these power relations (Vertovec 2011). In Australia the history of colonisation and subjugation of Indigenous Australians, the negative view of immigration of people who are not of white European background and resultant government policies and practices (as described in Section 1.5 and Chapter Four) provides the basis of a cultural exclusionary worldview.

Previous anthropologically based Australian research demonstrates how this worldview privileges those from the dominant white culture and excludes some minority cultures while at the same time denying racism (examples include Cowlshaw and Moreton-Robinson, 2004; Hage, 1998, 2002, 2014; Kowal, 2015; Walton et al., 2014). This thesis extends this anthropological understanding by demonstrating that these relations of power are now also evident on social media. Anthropologically based theory can now therefore be

expanded to argue that worldviews are produced and maintained through relations of power, including those replicated on social media.

In addition, previous anthropologically based social media research demonstrates that social scalability radically expands the capacity to share worldviews (Miller et al., 2016). Social media research has also demonstrated how the ease of interaction and lack of legal consequences or other repercussions or opprobrium facilitates the relatively unlimited sharing of racist content on social media. Combining these two findings the research that this thesis is based on demonstrates how the social scalability capacity of social media is exploited by individuals and groups who espouse cultural exclusion narratives on social media. In Australia, Individuals and groups use social media to try and popularise their worldviews and attempt to influence Australians who are unsure about cultural inclusion, using arguments justifying cultural exclusion.

10.7.3. Wider understandings about Multiculturalism in Australia

The use of social media to popularise exclusionary worldviews contributes a greater understanding about the extent to which official multiculturalism is perceived and reproduced in Australia. Section 1.5 described the way that on the one hand cultural diversity is promoted in Australia but on the other there is an insistence on one core culture by those in a position of power and privilege. This thesis shows that the contradiction in the rhetoric about official Australian multiculturalism contributes to the reproduction of worldviews on social media

that are inherently racist. The predominantly white male social media posters in the case studies believed they had the right to decide which values make up the core culture without consideration of the range of cultural perspectives in Australia.

The insistence on one core culture by the posters also did not reflect the reality of everyday multiculturalism in Australia, where people exchange cultural practices and values on a daily basis. A worldview that truly promotes cultural diversity and recognises a range of perspectives would more closely resemble cosmopolitanism, but this is yet to be conveyed in the official Australian multiculturalism rhetoric and policy. Instead there is a lack of opprobrium or adequate laws regarding cyber racism by those in positions of power, leading to the proliferation of these views on social media unchecked. Without intervention a multiculturalism based on valuing cultural diversity will be difficult to achieve in Australia.

10.7.4. Cyber racism and the normalization of everyday racism

The cyber racism case studies in this thesis were not based on supremacist groups who use the Internet to espouse their ideologies (although they could have been influenced by them). The two case studies (Chapters Five and Six) were based on everyday individual Australians who used the Internet to espouse their racist views. As described in Chapter Two this type of cyber racism is seen as the expression of everyday racism in an online environment. The influence of this type of racism is generally denied or downplayed by

those in power. Similarly, the denial of racism and the belief that the authors had the right to express their views was strongly expressed in the case studies. The implication was that the authors represent a minority of people who are exercising their freedom of speech.

However, the sheer volume of people who are expressing these views takes it beyond the expression of freedom of speech by a small number of people. The cyber racism case studies demonstrate that there are many more people emboldened to express these views on social media than was ever possible on conventional forms of media. As described in chapter Two platformed racism is a relative new term that describes the way social media facilitates the proliferation of racism. This new phenomenon takes everyday racism to a new level.

It can no longer be argued that the expression of everyday racism by individuals is not as harmful and confined to a minority. Its proliferation and amplification via the Internet and social media in particular has real world consequences. Everyday racism is becoming more prolific and is in danger of becoming normalised. A prime example of this normalisation was the passing of a motion in the Australian parliament that “It’s OK to be white” (a white supremacist phrase) (The Guardian, 2018). It can be argued that this obviously racist phrase has slipped in to the rhetoric of the Australian parliament through a greater tolerance for racism created by platformed racism. In this way platformed racism is contributing to the normalising of everyday racism.

10.7.5. Wider understandings about cyber anti-racism and community resilience

The challenge for anti-racism exponents is how to respond to the normalising of everyday racism on social media and in everyday life. Australian anti-racism research has so far had a strong emphasis on everyday responses that focus on state-sanctioned, rather than community-led, anti-racism strategies and on the *perpetrators* and *bystanders* to racism rather than the *targets* (Nissim, 2014).

This may be because of the limited opportunities for targeted communities to respond to racism in everyday environments. However, as described in Chapter Seven, targeted communities are now also utilising the opportunities provided by social media to directly and indirectly challenge cultural exclusion narratives. This adds a new area to anti-racism research in Australia.

As well, the research findings demonstrate that the counter narratives on social media contribute to community resilience to racism in targeted communities, which is also an exciting new area of research. The findings from this research can be used to construct a *template* for other communities that want to utilise the potential of social media. This can be achieved through ensuring the safety and sanctuary of social media spaces for targeted communities, allowing them to have a voice that they may not otherwise have. The communities are then able to put forward counter narratives, contesting existing cultural exclusion narratives (such as those in Chapters Eight and Nine). As alternative narratives gain momentum, they may not only activate key aspects of community

resilience but also contribute to a change in the power differential that leads to their inclusion in the national identity narrative.

10.7.6. Civil society and Collaboration

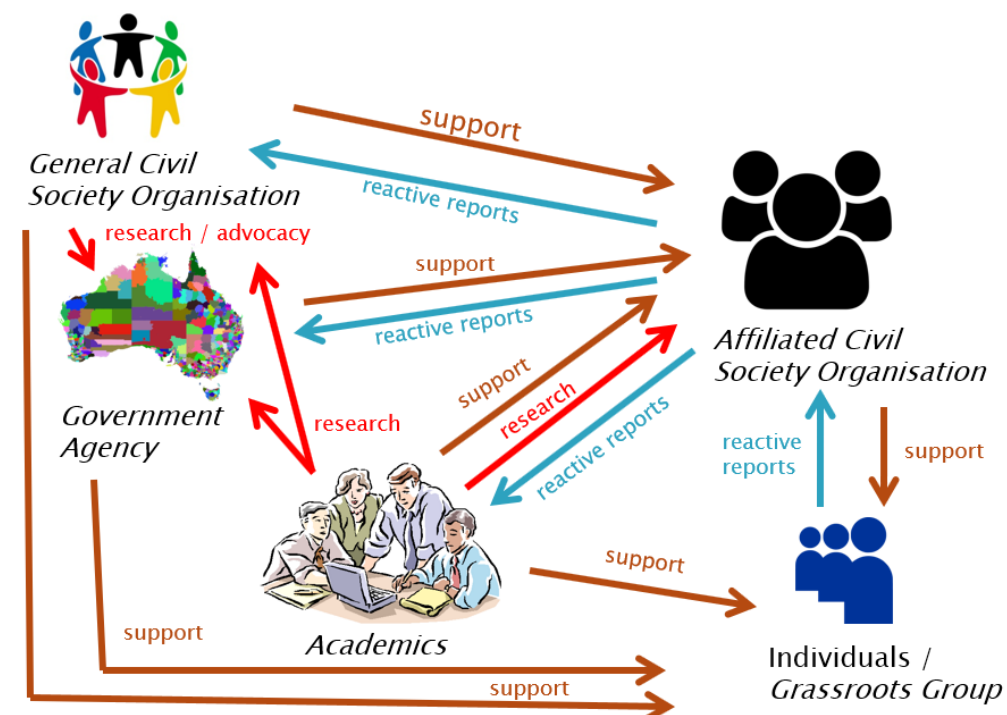
While the research in this thesis shows that some online communities are making significant progress in countering cyber racism and building community resilience in targeted communities, the ability to change the power differential may be further facilitated by a groundswell of alternative narratives. The message about the potential of social media to counter cultural exclusion narratives needs to move outside of the academy to general civil society.

Strengthening of the dual messages of the unacceptability of cultural exclusion and the support of cultural inclusion and community resilience can be achieved through collaboration. The CRaCR project included collaboration between academics, government departments (the AHRC and VicHealth) and civil society organisations (FECCA and OHPI). Feedback was provided to AHRC and VicHealth in the form of reports and this researcher worked with FECCA and the OHPI to support the development of projects that would support the countering of cyber racism. While FECCA is yet to fully activate their project ideas, the OHPI has further developed their project through an integrated software system.

The SMARTER approach taken by the OHPI promotes **Solidarity in Moving Against Racism Together while Enabling Resilience** (Connelly and Oboler

2018) (See figure 10.2). This approach is based on a collaborative model where individuals are able to report cyber racism through a portal that is imbedded in civil society organisations' or grassroots groups' existing online websites and social media pages. The idea is that the crowd sourced information is shared between different groups in society (civil society groups, government agencies, academics) in order to create greater understanding and the development of new policies, projects or campaigns. This collaborative approach has the potential to empower targeted communities and assist in the strengthening of voices that are attempting to change the cultural exclusion narrative (see figure 10.2).

Figure 10.2 The OHPI SMARTER approach to cyber racism (Oboler and Connelly, 2018).



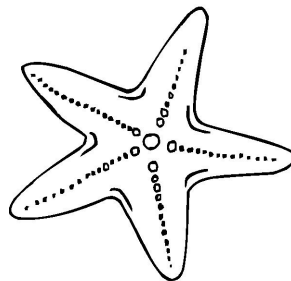
10.8. Concluding Remarks

In this age when the potential of social media to proliferate racism seems boundless, the importance of understanding how it operates and what can be done to curb its influence is vital. This research has stretched the limits of traditional anthropology to explore Australian worldviews related to cultural exclusion on social media. A core contribution is the understanding that everyday cultural exclusion narratives based on the uncritical acceptance of white power and privilege is replicated on social media. In addition the lack of adequate legal or other responses allows cyber racism to flourish unchecked. If this situation continues it is likely to have a far greater impact on Australian society than the already known detrimental effects of racism.

In contemporary Australian society, the way in which Australians perceive relationships between different groups, is being fundamentally corroded by the systematic undermining of cultural inclusion on social media. If significant parts of the Internet are left abandoned to those with racist and exclusionary views, the long or even the medium term impact is that social cohesion will be undermined. Everyday Australians may be influenced by the proliferation of exclusion narratives and some sections of the Australian population may be further ignored or excluded from the national identity narrative. These sections may retreat to the safety of their own communities, thereby fragmenting

Australian society and leading to the further corroding of social cohesion or even violence as has been seen in other parts of the world.

A unified and strong message is needed: one that recognises the white privilege that has developed in Australia and the racism that goes with it; one that recognises that white privilege and racism are connected; one that condemns cultural exclusion and promotes a multicultural society based on inclusion and one that includes and supports Australian Indigenous and minority communities. This message needs to originate from government, supported by evidence based academic research. The key role of civil society organisations also needs to be recognised and properly resourced. Their connection to local migrant and Australian Indigenous communities and specific knowledge about the Internet is invaluable to sustainable change. If we want to ensure a successful Australian multicultural nation, one that is inclusive and welcoming we should not wait for this problem to worsen, we need to act now.



APPENDIX ONE

STATEMENT OF CONTRIBUTION OF AUTHORS

I confirm that I am a co-author of the book chapter

Racist Narratives Online in the book

Jakubowicz, A., Dunn, K., Paradies, Y., Mason, G., Bliuc, A.-M., Bahfen, N., Oboler, A., Atie, R., Connelly, K. (2017). *Cyber Racism and Community Resilience*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

And that Karen Connelly contributed at least 50% of the content of this publication.

Production Note:

Signature removed prior to publication.

Dr. Ana-Maria Bliuc

I confirm that I am a co-author of the book chapter

Building Online Communities of Resistance and Solidarity in the book

Jakubowicz, A., Dunn, K., Paradies, Y., Mason, G., Bliuc, A.-M., Bahfen, N., Oboler, A., Atie, R., Connelly, K. (2017). *Cyber Racism and Community Resilience*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

And that Karen Connelly contributed at least 50% of the content of this publication.

Production Note:

Signature removed prior to publication.

Dr. Andre Oboler

REFERENCES

- ABC. (2018). Adam Goodes' Indigenous celebration sparks boos for Sydney Swans star against Carlton. Retrieved June 13, 2018, from <http://www.abc.net.au/news/2015-05-30/adam-goodes-indigenous-celebration-sparks-boos/6508968>
- Abitbol, C. (2011). The Fight Against Online Hate. *The Australian Jewish News*. Retrieved Feb 9, 2017 from <https://www.jewishnews.net.au/the-fight-against-online-hate/22046>
- Adams, J., and Roscigno, V. J. (2005). White Supremacists, Oppositional Culture and the World Wide Web. *Social Forces*, 84, 759–778.
- Al Islam. (2017). Ahmadiyya Muslim Community. Retrieved May 28, 2018, from <https://www.alislam.org/library/ahmadiyya-muslim-community/>
- All Together Now. (2017). About Us. Retrieved Feb 10, 2017 from <http://alltogethernow.org.au/about-us-2/>
- All Together Now. (2018a). About Us. Retrieved May 30, 2018, from <http://alltogethernow.org.au/about-us-2/>
- All Together Now. (2018b). Everyday Racism. Retrieved February 23, 2018, from <http://alltogethernow.org.au/everyday-racism/>
- Anglin, I. (2016). A Normie's Guide to the Alt-Right. Retrieved July 1, 2018, from <https://katana17.files.wordpress.com/2016/09/daily-stormer-a-normies-guide-to-the-alt-right-ver-31.pdf>
- Askander, G. (2015). *What significance does physical activity and sedentary behaviour have for members of online health promoting communities?*

Edith Cowan University.

Atton, C. (2006). Far-Right Media on the Internet: Culture, Discourse and Power. *New Media and Society*, 8, 573–587.

Australian Anthropological Society. (2018). Anthropology and its Methods. Retrieved January 28, 2018, from <http://www.aas.asn.au/about-aas/>

Australia Bureau of Statistics (2017) Census of Population and Housing: Reflecting Australia - Stories from the Census, 2016 Retrieved March 21, 2019, from <http://www.abs.gov.au/ausstats/abs@.nsf/Lookup/by%20Subject/2071.0~2016~Main%20Features~Cultural%20Diversity%20Data%20Summary~30> Accessed 21/3/2019

Australian Bureau of Statistics. (2018). Australian Demographic Statistics, Jun 2017. Retrieved January 28, 2018, from <http://www.abs.gov.au/ausstats/abs@.nsf/mf/3101.0>

Australian Charities and Not For Profit Commission. (2016). All Together Now. Retrieved Feb 10, 2017 from <https://www.acnc.gov.au/RN52B75Q?ID=21EBC005-6E2A-454F-B519-5A5DB6C842B5&noleft=1>

Australian Charities and Not For Profit Commission. (2017). Online Hate Prevention Institute. Retrieved Feb 9, 2017 from <https://www.acnc.gov.au/RN52B75Q?ID=08FA27C4-3484-4CCD-89F0-D74243903476&noleft=1>

Australian Government. (1975). Racial Discrimination Act 1975. Retrieved July 1, 2018, from http://www.austlii.edu.au/cgibin/download.cgi/au/legis/cth/consol_act/rda1975202

- Australian Government. (2016). Australian Human Rights Commission.
Retrieved Feb 10, 2017 from
<https://www.ag.gov.au/Publications/Budgets/Budget2016-17/Documents/Portfolio-budget-statements/PBS-AHRC-2016-17.pdf>
- Australian Government. (2018a). Apology to Australia's Indigenous Peoples.
Retrieved June 28, 2018, from <https://www.australia.gov.au/about-australia/our-country/our-people/apology-to-australias-indigenous-peoples>
- Australian Government. (2018b). Australian Values Statement. Retrieved from
<https://www.homeaffairs.gov.au/trav/life/aust/living-in-australia-values-statement-long>
- Australian Human Rights Commission. (2007). Social Justice Report 2007—
Chapter 3: The Northern Territory 'Emergency Response' Intervention.
Retrieved Feb 10, 2017 from
<https://www.humanrights.gov.au/publications/social-justice-report-2007-chapter-3-northern-territory-emergency-response-intervention>
- Australian Human Rights Commission. (2013a). Racism. It Stops with Me.
Retrieved Feb 10, 2017 from <https://itstopswithme.humanrights.gov.au/>
- Australian Human Rights Commission. (2013b). Racism. It Stops with Me.
Support the Campaign: Organisations. Retrieved Feb 10, 2017 from
<https://itstopswithme.humanrights.gov.au/what-can-you-do/join-campaign/support-campaign-organisations>
- Australian Human Rights Commission. (2013c). Racism. It Stops with Me and
the National Anti-Racism Strategy: One Year on, Australian Human
Rights Commission. Retrieved Feb 10, 2017 from
https://itstopswithme.humanrights.gov.au/sites/default/files/RISWM%20One%20Year%20On%20Report_0.pdf

Australian Human Rights Commission. (2015). National Anti-Racism Strategy and Racism. It Stops with Me: Summary Evaluation and Future Directions. Retrieved Feb 10, 2017 from <https://www.humanrights.gov.au/our-work/race-discrimination/publications/national-anti-racism-strategy-and-racism-it-stops-me>

Australian Human Rights Commission. (2016). Race hate and the RDA. Retrieved Feb 10, 2017 from <https://www.humanrights.gov.au/our-work/race-discrimination/projects/race-hate-and-rda>

Australian Human Rights Commission. (2017a). Racism it Stops With Me. Retrieved May 30, 2018, from <https://itstopswithme.humanrights.gov.au>

Australian Human Rights Commission. (2017b). About the Commission. Retrieved Feb 10, 2017 from

[https:// www.humanrights.gov.au/about-commission-0](https://www.humanrights.gov.au/about-commission-0)

Australian Human Rights Commission. (2017c). *Individual Supporters*. Retrieved Feb 13, 2017 from <https://itstopswithme.humanrights.gov.au/what-can-you-do/join-campaign/individual-supporters>.

Awan, I., and Zempi, I. (2015). 'I will Blow your face off'—Virtual and Physical World Anti-Muslim Hate Crime. *British Journal of Criminology*, (December 2015), azv122. <http://doi.org/10.1093/bjc/azv122>

Awofeso, N. (2011). Racism: a major impediment to optimal Indigenous health and health care in Australia. *Australian Indigenous Health Bulletin*, 11(3), 1–13.

AZlyrics. (2017). The Seekers Lyrics. Retrieved July 1, 2018, from <http://www.azlyrics.com/lyrics/seekers/iamaustralian.html>

- Back, L. (2002). Aryans reading Adorno: cyber-culture and twenty-first century racism. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 25(4), 628–651.
<http://doi.org/10.1080/01419870220136664>
- Balint, P. (2006). Respect Relationships in Diverse Societies. *Res Publica*, 12(1), 35–57. <http://doi.org/10.1007/s11158-006-0004-6>
- Bandura, A. (1999). Moral Disengagement in the Perpetration of Inhumanities. *Personality and Social Psychology Review*, 3, 193–209.
- Bandura, A. (2002). Selective Moral Disengagement in the Exercise of Moral Agency. *Journal of Moral Education*, 31(2), 101–119.
- Beck, U. (2002). The Cosmopolitan Society and Its Enemies. *Theory, Culture and Society*, 19(1–2), 17–44. <http://doi.org/10.1177/026327640201900101>
- Behm-Morawitz, E., Pennell, H., and Speno, A. G. (2016). The effects of virtual racial embodiment in a gaming app on reducing prejudice. *Communication Monographs*, 83(3), 396–418.
<http://doi.org/10.1080/03637751.2015.1128556>
- Bell, L. A. (2003). Telling Tales : What stories can teach us about racism. *Race, Ethnicity and Education*, 1(6), 3–28.
<http://doi.org/10.1080/1361332032000044567>
- Berman, G., and Paradies, Y. (2010). Racism, disadvantage and multiculturalism: towards effective anti-racist praxis. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 33(2), 214–232.
- Bessi, A., Coletto, M., Davidescu, G. A., Scala, A., Caldarelli, G., and Quattrociochi, W. (2015). Science vs conspiracy: Collective narratives in the age of misinformation. *PLoS ONE*, 10(2), 1–17.
<http://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0118093>

- Beyondblue. (2018). News. Retrieved May 30, 2018, from <https://www.beyondblue.org.au/connect-with-others/news/news/2015/03/19/i-beyondblue-s-i-stop.think.respect.-campaign-increases-awareness-of-racism-but-more-work-still-needed-to-change-attitudes-research-shows>
- Bliuc, A.-M., McGarty, C., Hartley, L., and Muntele Hendres, D. (2012). Manipulating National Identity: e Strategic Use of Rhetoric by Supporters and Opponents of the ‘Cronulla Riots’ in Australia. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 35, 2174–2194.
- Bliuc, A.-M., Betts, J., Faulkner, N., Vergani, M., Deakin University, Chow, R.J., and Iqbal, M. (2016). *Group Cohesion in Online White Supremacist Communities – Integrating Social Network and Computerised Linguistic Analyses*. Paper pre- sented at the ‘Taking Stock of Research on Violent Online Political Extremism’ Vox-Pol Mid-Project Conference, Dublin, Ireland. <http://www.voxpol.eu/vox-pol-mid-project-conference-taking-stock-of-research-onviolent-online-political-extremism>
- Bliuc, A.-M., Faulkner, N., and Jakubowicz, A. (2018). Online networks of hate: A systematic cross-disciplinary review of research on cyber-racism. *Computers in Human Behavior*, 87, 75–86. <http://doi.org/10.1016/j.chb.2018.05.026>
- Bodkin-Andrews, G. (2013). Promoting resiliency to counter racism : The lived wisdom within Aboriginal voices. *InPsych*, 35(4), 14–15.
- Boellstorff, T. (2008). *Coming of Age in Second Life*. Oxfordshire: Princeton University Press.
- Booker, C. (2015). Adam Goodes should admit he was wrong, says Andrew Bolt. Retrieved June 27, 2018, from <https://www.smh.com.au/entertainment/tv-and-radio/adam-goodes->

should-admit-he-was-wrong-says-andrew-bolt-20150730-gioa1o.html

Breen, M. D. (2015). For the real story on Indigenous Australia, social beats old media. Retrieved July 1, 2017, from <https://theconversation.com/for-the-real-story-on-indigenous-australia-social-beats-old-media-38698>

Brice, P. (2013). A Study Into The Factors Which Make Non-profit Racism Prevention Initiatives Effective. All Together Now.

Bruner, J. (1991). The narrative construction of reality. *Critical Inquiry*, 18(1), 1–21.

Burnap, P., and Williams, M. L. (2016). Us and them: identifying cyber hate on Twitter across multiple protected characteristics. *EPJ Data Science*, 5(1), 11. <http://doi.org/10.1140/epjds/s13688-016-0072-6>

Calcutt, L., Woodward, I., and Skrbis, Z. (2009). Conceptualizing Otherness - An Exploration of the Cosmopolitan Schema. *Journal of Sociology*, 45(2), 169–186.

Carlson, B. (2013). The ‘new frontier’: Emergent Indigenous identities and social media. In M. Harris, M. Nakata, and B. Carlson (Eds.), *The Politics of Identity: Emerging Indigeneity* (pp. 147–168). Sydney.

Carson, B. L., Farrelly, T., Frazer, R., and Borthwick, F. (2015). Mediating tragedy: Facebook, aboriginal peoples and suicide. *Australasian Journal of Information Systems*, 19, 1–15.

Chakraborty, A., and McKenzie, K. (2002). Does Racial Discrimination Cause Mental Illness? *The British Journal of Psychiatry*, 180, 475–477.

Chandra, A., Acosta, J., Meredith, L. S., Sanches, K., Stern, S., Uscher-pines, L., Williams, M. and Yeung, D. (2010). Understanding Community

Resilience in the Context of National Health Security A Literature Review, (February 2010), 39. <http://doi.org/10.1.1.229.647>

Chaudhry, I. (2015). # Hashtagging hate: Using Twitter to track racism online. *First Monday*, 20(2). Retrieved from <http://uncommonculture.org/ojs/index.php/fm/article/view/5450>

Clark, R. (1999). Racism as a Stressor for African Americans: A Biopsychosocial Model. *American Psychologist*, 54, 805–816.

Cleland, J. (2014). Racism , Football Fans , and Online Message Boards : How Social Media Has Added a New Dimension to Racist Discourse in English Football. *Journal of Sport and Social Issues*, 38(5), 415–431. <http://doi.org/10.1177/0193723513499922>

Colic-peisker, V., Mikola, M., and Dekker, K. (2016). A Multicultural Nation and its (Muslim) Other ? Political Leadership and Media Reporting in the Wake of the ‘ Sydney Siege .’ *Journal of Intercultural Studies*, 37(4), 373–389. <http://doi.org/10.1080/07256868.2016.1190693>

Collins, C. A., and Williams, D. R. (1999). Segregation and Mortality: The Deadly Effects of Racism? *Sociological Forum*, 14(3), 495–523.

Commonwealth of Australia. (2017). Previous Building Community Resilience grants recipients. Retrieved June 27, 2017, from <https://www.ag.gov.au/NationalSecurity/Counteringviolentextremism/Pages/PreviousrecipientsBuildingCommunityResiliencegrants.aspx>

Connelly, K. (2016). Undermining Cosmopolitanism: Cyber-Racism Narratives in Australia. *Sites*, 13(1), 156–176.

Cooper, K. A., and Hughes, N. R. (2015). Thick Narratives. *Qualitative Inquiry*, 21(1), 28–35. <http://doi.org/10.1177/1077800414542690>

- Council for Aboriginal Reconciliation. (2001). Terra Nullius and Sovereignty. Retrieved February 9, 2017, from <http://www.austlii.edu.au/au/orgs/car/docrec/policy/%0Dbrief/terran.htm>.
- Cowling, D. (2017). Social Media Statistics Australia - July 2017. Retrieved January 28, 2018, from <https://www.socialmedianews.com.au/social-media-statistics-australia-july-2017/>
- Cowlshaw, G. (2000). censoring race in post-colonial anthropology. *Critique of Anthropology*, 20(2), 101–123.
- Cowlshaw, G. (2012). Culture and the absurd: The means and meanings of Aboriginal identity in the time of cultural revivalism. *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, 18(2), 397–417. <http://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9655.2012.01749.x>
- Cowlshaw, G., and Moreton-Robinson, A. (2004). Racial positioning, privilege and public debate. In *Whitening race: Essays in social and cultural criticism* (pp. 59–74). Canberra: Aboriginal Studies Press.
- Daniels, J. (2009). *Cyber-racism :white supremacy online and the new attack on civil rights*. Plymouth: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, Inc.
- Daniels, J. (2012). Race and racism in Internet Studies: A review and critique. *New Media and Society*, 15(5), 695–719.
- Daniels, J. (2015). “My Brain Database Doesn’t See Skin Color”: Color-Blind Racism in the Technology Industry and in Theorizing the Web. *American Behavioral Scientist*. <http://doi.org/10.1177/0002764215578728>
- De Fina, A. (2017). Narrative Analysis. In R. Woodak and B. Forchtner (Eds.), *The Routledge Handbook of Language and Politics*.

Delgado, R., and Stefancic, J. (2012). *Critical Race Theory*. New York: New York University Press.

Di Stefano, M. (2015). The Aussie Slur Against Adam Goodes That's Now A Meme. Retrieved June 27, 2018, from https://www.buzzfeed.com/markdistefano/what-is-a-flog?utm_term=.lvBYjpX2v#.rpBwqYxja

Di Stefano, M. (2017). Muslims Dominated Clean Up Australia Day, But You Probably Didn't Hear About It. Retrieved July 1, 2018, from https://www.buzzfeed.com/markdistefano/take-out-the-trash?utm_term=.mldZzGjLE#.ybr4opY5z

Donovan, R. J., and Vlasis, R. (2006). *A Review of Communication Components of Anti-Racism and Pro-Diversity Social Marketing/Public Education Campaigns*. Melbourne: VicHealth.

Douglas, K. M. (2005). Understanding Cyberhate Social Competition and Social Creativity in Online White Supremacist Groups. *Social Science Computer Review*, 23, 68–76.

Dovidio, J. F. (2001). On the Nature of Contemporary Prejudice: The Third Wave. *Journal of Social Issues*, 57(4), 829–849.

Dreher, T., McCallum, K., and Waller, L. (2016). Indigenous voices and mediatized policy-making in the digital age. *Information Technology and People*, 19(1), 23–39. <http://doi.org/10.1080/1369118X.2015.1093534>

Dunn, K. (2009). Performing Australian nationalisms at Cronulla. In G. Noble (Ed.), *Lines in the sand: the Cronulla riots, multiculturalism and national belonging* (pp. 76–94). Sydney: Institute of Criminology Press.

Dunn, K., and Forrest, J. (2009). *Challenging Racism: The Anti-Racism*

Research Project. Sydney: University of Western Sydney.

- Dunn, K., Forrest, J., Pe-Pua, R., Hynes, M., and Maeder-Han, K. (2009). Cities of race hatred? The spheres of racism and anti-racism in contemporary Australian cities. *Cosmopolitan Civil Societies Journal*, 1(1), 1–14.
- Dunn, K. M., Forrest, J., Burnley, I., and McDonald, A. (2005). Constructing racism in Australia. *Australian Journal of Social Issues*, 39(4), 409–430.
- Dunn, K. M., Klocker, N., and Salabay, T. (2007). Contemporary racism and Islamophobia in Australia: Racializing religion. *Ethnicities*, 7(4), 564–589. <http://doi.org/10.1177/1468796807084017>
- Dunn, K., and Nelson, J. K. (2011). Challenging the Public Denial of Racism for a Deeper Multiculturalism. *Journal of Intercultural Studies*, 32(6), 587–602. <http://doi.org/10.1080/07256868.2011.618105>
- eco. (2016). *eco Survey: Every Third Person Has Encountered Racist Hate Speech Online*. eco: Association of the Internet Industry. Retrieved Sep 14, 2016 from <https://international.eco.de/2016/news/eco-survey-every-third-person-has-encountered-racist-hate-speech-online.html>
- eco. (2017). *eco—A Look Back at 2016: Internet Skepticism Dominates Digital Policy*. eco: Association of the Internet Industry. Retrieved Feb 2, 2017 from <https://international.eco.de/2017/news/eco-a-look-back-at-2016-internet-skepticism-dominates-digital-policy.html>
- Elias, A., and Paradies, Y. (2016). Estimating the mental health costs of racial discrimination. *BMC Public Health*, 16(1205), 1–13. <http://doi.org/10.1186/s12889-016-3868-1>
- Encyclopedia Britannica. (2017). Twitter. Retrieved June 13, 2018, from

<https://www.britannica.com/topic/Twitter>

Facebook. (2015). About. Retrieved November 15, 2015, from
https://www.facebook.com/pg/facebook/about/?tab=page_info

Facebook. (2017a). Take Back Australia. Retrieved Feb 11, 2017 from
<https://www.facebook.com/fightback-aussie/>

Facebook. (2017b). Welcome to Australia. Retrieved Feb 11, 2017 from
<https://www.facebook.com/welcometoaustralia/?fref=ts>

Facebook. (2017c). Facebook Business—Boost Your Posts. Retrieved Feb 14,
2017 from <https://www.facebook.com/business/help/547448218658012>

Facebook. (2017d). Online Hate Prevention Institute. Retrieved Feb 9, 2017
from <https://www.facebook.com/onlinehate/>

Facebook. (2017e). IndigenousX. Retrieved Feb 11, 2017 from
<https://www.facebook.com/Indigenoux/>

Facebook. (2017f). All Together Now. Retrieved Feb 10, 2017 from
<https://www.facebook.com/alltogether-now.org.au/>

Facebook. (2017g). Racism Stops with Me. Retrieved Feb 10, 2017 from
https://www.facebook.com/pg/Racism-Stops-With-Me-565692716841638/about/?ref=page_internal

Facebook. (2017h). Australian Human Rights Commission. Retrieved Feb 10,
2017 from <https://www.facebook.com/aushumanrights/>

Facebook. (2017i). Australian Race Discrimination Commissioner Tim
Soutphommasane. Retrieved Feb 11, 2017 from
<https://www.facebook.com/Australian-Race-Discrimination->

Commissioner-Tim-Soutphommasane-653778944684939/

Facebook. (2017j). FECCA. About. Retrieved Feb 10, 2017 from
https://www.facebook.com/pg/iFECCA/about/?ref=page_internal

Facebook. (2018a). Facebook Principles. Retrieved February 7, 2018, from
<https://web.facebook.com/principles.php>

Facebook. (2018b). Founder Bios. Retrieved March 19, 2018, from
<https://newsroom.fb.com/founder-bios/>

Facebook. (2018c). Objectionable content. Retrieved June 28, 2018, from
https://www.facebook.com/communitystandards/objectionable_content/

Faulkner, N., and Bliuc, A.-M. (2016). 'It's okay to be racist': moral disengagement in online discussions of racist incidents in Australia. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 39, 1–19.
<http://doi.org/10.1080/01419870.2016.1171370>

FECCA. (2017). *FECCA*. Retrieved Feb 10, 2017 from <http://fecca.org.au>

Ferdinand, A. S., Paradies, Y., and Kelaher, M. A. (2013). The role of effective partnerships in an Australian place-based intervention to reduce race-based discrimination. *Public Health Reports*, 128 (Supplement 3), 54–60.
Retrieved from <http://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pubmed/24179280>

Ferguson, R. (2017). Demographic and ideological correlates of negative attitudes towards asylum seekers : A meta-analytic review. *Australian Journal of Psychology*. <http://doi.org/10.1111/ajpy.12162>

Fernandez, A. M. (2016). Platformed racism: The mediation and circulation of an Australian race-based controversy on Twitter, Facebook and YouTube. In *Association of Internet Researchers Annual Conference* (pp. 5–8).

Berlin.

Fight Against Hate. (2015a). Welcome to Fight Against Hate. Retrieved Feb 9, 2017 from <https://fightagainsthate.com>^[1]

Fight Against Hate. (2015b). SAMIH: Spotlight on Anti-Muslim Internet Hate. About. Retrieved Feb 9, 2017 from <https://fightagainsthate.com/samih/about.php>

Fight Against Hate. (2015c). SAMIH: Spotlight on Anti-Muslim Internet Hate. Sponsors, Partners and Supporters. Retrieved Feb 9, 2017 from <https://fightagainsthate.com/samih/partners.php>^[1]

Fight Against Hate. (2015d). The SAMIH Project. Budget. Retrieved Feb 9, 2017 from <https://fightagainsthate.com/samih/resource/budget.pdf>

Fleming, J., and Ledogar, R. J. (2008). Resilience, an Evolving Concept: A Review of Literature Relevant to Aboriginal Research. *Pimatisiwin*, 6(2), 7–23. <http://doi.org/10.1016/j.clinph.2011.06.006.A>

Ford, K. A., and Orlandella, J. (2015). The “Not-So-Final Remark.” *Sociology of Race and Ethnicity*, 1(2), 287–301. <http://doi.org/10.1177/2332649214559286>

Ford, T., and Ferguson, M. (2004). Social Consequences of Disparagement Humour: A Prejudiced Norm Theory. *Personality and Social Psychology Review*, 8, 79–94.

Forrest, J., and Dunn, K. (2006). Racism and Intolerance in Eastern Australia: a geographic perspective. *Australian Geographer*, 37(2), 167–186.

Forrest, J., and Dunn, K. (2007). Constructing Racism in Sydney, Australia’s Largest EthniCity. *Urban Studies*, 44(4), 699–721.

- Fozdar, F., and Low, M. (2015). They have to abide by our laws . . . and stuff ': ethnonationalism masquerading as civic nationalism. *Nations and Nationalism*, 21(3), 524–543. <http://doi.org/10.1111/nana.12128>
- Fozdar, F., and Pedersen, A. (2013). Diablogging about asylum seekers: Building a counter-hegemonic discourse. *Discourse and Communication*, 7(4), 371–388. <http://doi.org/10.1177/1750481313494497>
- Fozdar, F., Spittles, B., and Hartley, L. K. (2015). Australia Day, Flags on Cars and Australian Nationalism. *Journal of Sociology*, 51(2), 317–336
- Fozdar, F., Wilding, R. and Hawkins, M., (2009) *Race and Ethnic Relations*, South Melbourne: Oxford University Press
- Gargliardone, I., Gal, D., Alves, T., and Martinez, G. (2015). *Countering Online Hate Speech*. Paris: UNESCO
- Geertz, C. (1973). *The Interpretation of Cultures*. New York: Basic Books.
- Gehl, R. W. (2010). *A Cultural and Political Economy of Web 2.0* (PhD Thesis). Online at: http://www.robertwgehl.org/text/gehl_diss_full.pdf^[1]_[SEP]
- Gemmel, N. (2015). Adam Goodes' war dance: what's the problem. Retrieved June 27, 2018, from <https://www.theaustralian.com.au/life/weekend-australian-magazine/adam-goodes-war-dance-whats-the-problem/news-story/84260bfeaf84d8c7d927001febe32f0b>
- Gerstenfeld, P. B., Grant, D. R., and Chiang, C.-P. (2003). Hate Online: A Content Analysis of Extremist Internet Sites. *Analyses of Social Issues and Public Policy*, 3(1), 29–44
- Glaser, M. (2016). Twitter Founders Thrive on Micro-Blogging Constraints. Retrieved March 19, 2018, from <http://mediashift.org/2007/05/twitter->

founders-thrive-on-micro-blogging-constraints137/

Go Fund Me. (2017). Put Aus girls back in Aus day ad. Retrieved Feb 9, 2017 from <https://www.gofundme.com/aus-day>

Goodall, H., Jakubowicz, A., Martin, J., Mitchell, T., Randall, L., and Seneviratne, K. (1994). *Racism, ethnicity and the media*. St Leonards: Allen and Unwin.

Gorman, S., and Reeves, K. (2012). managing Diversity: Reviewing Rule 30 and the Implications of the Racial Vilification Laws in the Australian Football League since 1995. *Journal of Australian Indigenous Issues*, 15(2).

Graham, D. G. (2015). Lost to View: The Resilience of Indigenous Australians in the Face of Systematic Racism. In V. Pulla and B. Mamidi, Bharath (Eds.), *Some Aspects of Community Empowerment and Resilience* (pp. 49–62). New Delhi: Allied Publishers.

Griffiths, B., and Pedersen, A. (2009). Prejudice and the function of attitudes relating to Muslim Australians and Indigenous Australians. *Australian Journal of Psychology*, 61(4), 228–238.
<http://doi.org/10.1080/00049530902748275>

Guardian Australia. (2017). IndigenousX. Retrieved Feb 10, 2017 from <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/series/indigenoux>

Guardian News and Media. (2018). IndigenousX. Retrieved June 25, 2018, from <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/series/indigenoux>

Gullestad, M. (2004). Blind slaves of our prejudices: Debating ‘culture’ and ‘race’ in Norway. *Ethnos*, 69(2), 177–203.
<http://doi.org/10.1080/0014184042000212858>

Gupta, A., and Ferguson, J. (2012). Beyond " Culture ": Space , Identity , and the Politics of Difference, 7(1), 6–23.

<http://doi.org/10.1525/can.1992.7.1.02a00020>

Hage, G. (1998). *White Nation*. Sydney: Pluto Press.

Hage, G. (2000). *White nation: Fantasies of white supremacy in a multicultural society*. Annadale: Routelege.

Hage, G. (2002). Multiculturalism and white paranoia in Australia. *Journal of International Migration and Integration*, 3(3–4), 417–437.

<http://doi.org/10.1007/s12134-002-1023-6>

Hage, G. (2014). Continuity and Change in Australian Racism. *Journal of Intercultural Studies*, 35(3), 232–237.

<http://doi.org/10.1080/07256868.2014.899948>

Hanson-Easey, S., Augoustinos, M., and Moloney, G. (2014). “They’re all tribals”: Essentialism, context and the discursive representation of Sudanese refugees. *Discourse and Society*, 25(3), 362–382.

<http://doi.org/10.1177/0957926513519536>

Hartigan, J. J. (1997). Establishing the Fact of Whiteness. *American Anthropologist*, 99(3), 495–505.

Healy, S. (2006). Cultural resilience, identity and the restructuring of political power in Bolivia. In *11th Biennial Conference of the International Association for the Study of Common Property*. Bali, Indonesia.

Henderson, M., Johnson, N. F., and Auld, G. (2013). Silences of ethical practice : dilemmas for researchers using social media. *Educational Research and Evaluation*, 19(6), 37–41.

<http://doi.org/10.1080/13803611.2013.805656>

- Henry, J. S. (2009). Beyond free speech: novel approaches to hate on the Internet in the United States. *Information and Communications Technology Law*, 18(2), 235–251.
<http://doi.org/10.1080/13600830902808127>
- Ho, C., and Jakubowicz, A. (2013). The Realities of Australian Multiculturalism. In Jakubowicz, A. and Ho, C. (Eds.), *‘For Those Who’ve Come Across the Seas’: Australian Multicultural Theory, Policy and Practice*. Melbourne: Australian Scholarly Publishing.
- Hollinsworth, D. (2014). Unsettling Australian settler supremacy: combating resistance in university Aboriginal studies. *Race Ethnicity and Education*, (November), 1–21. <http://doi.org/10.1080/13613324.2014.911166>
- Hooks, B. (1992). *Black Looks: Race and Representation*. London: Turnaround.
- Hughey, M. W., and Byrd, W. C. (2013). The souls of white folk beyond formation and structure: Bound to identity. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 36(September 2014), 974–981.
<http://doi.org/10.1080/01419870.2013.753153>
- Indiegogo. (2015). SAMIH: Spotlight on Anti-Muslim Internet Hate. Retrieved Feb 9, 2017 from [https:// www.indiegogo.com/projects/samih-spotlight-on-anti-muslim-internet- hate#/](https://www.indiegogo.com/projects/samih-spotlight-on-anti-muslim-internet-hate#/)
- IndigenousX. (2017a). IndigenousX Our Story. Retrieved Feb 10, 2017 from [http://indigenousx.com.au/ about/#.WJzkQKOr1hc](http://indigenousx.com.au/about/#.WJzkQKOr1hc)
- IndigenousX. (2017b). IndigenousX BlogX. Retrieved Feb 10, 2017 from <http://indigenousx.com.au/blogx/#. WGWJ66Or1DY>
- IndigenousX. (2018a). About. Retrieved June 28, 2018, from

https://indigenoux.com.au/about/#.WzRQ_S97GMA

IndigenousX. (2018b). IndigenousX. Retrieved July 1, 2018, from https://twitter.com/IndigenousX?ref_src=twsrc%5Egoogle%7Ctwcamp%5Eserp%7Ctwgr%5Eauthor

Ingold, T. (2008). Anthropology is Not Ethnography. In *Proceedings of the British Academy* (Vol. 154, pp. 69–92). The British Academy. <http://doi.org/10.5871/bacad/9780197264355.001.0001>

Institute for Strategic Dialogue. (2018). Online Civil Courage Initiative. Retrieved June 28, 2018, from <https://www.isdglobal.org/programmes/communications-technology/online-civil-courage-initiative-2/%0D%0D>

Internet World Stats, (2018). Internet Usage Statistics. Retrieved June 16, 2018 from <https://www.internetworldstats.com/stats.htm>

Jacobs, L., Hooghe, M., and de Vroome, T. (2017). Television and anti-immigrant sentiments: the mediating role of fear of crime and perceived ethnic diversity. *European Societies*, 19(3), 243–267. <http://doi.org/10.1080/14616696.2017.1290264>

Jacobs, L., Meeusen, C., and d’Haenens, L. (2016). News coverage and attitudes on immigration: Public and commercial television news compared. *European Journal of Communication*, 31(6), 642–660. <http://doi.org/10.1177/0267323116669456>

Jakubowicz, A. (2008). The Influence of the Fourth Estate. *Around the Globe*, 4(2), 37–38.

Jakubowicz, A. (2011a). Chinese Walls: Australian Multiculturalism and the Necessity for Human Rights. *Journal of Intercultural Studies*, 32(6), 691–

706. <http://doi.org/10.1080/07256868.2011.618111>

Jakubowicz, A. (2011b). Playing the triangle : Cosmopolitanism, Cultural Capital and Social Capital as intersecting scholarly discourses about social inclusion and marginalisation in Australian public policy debates. *Cosmopolitan Civil Societies Journal*, 3(3), 68–91.

Jakubowicz, A. (2012). Cyber Racism. In H. Sykes (Ed.), *More or Less: Democracy and New Media*. Sydney, Australia: Future Leaders.

Jakubowicz, A. (2015). Hunting for the Snark and finding the Boojum - building community resilience against race hate cyber swarms. *Perspectives on the Racial Discrimination Act*. Sydney: Australian Human Rights Commission.

Jakubowicz, A. H. (2016). Once Upon a Time In... Ethnocratic Australia: Migration, Refugees, Diversity and Contested Discourses of Inclusion. *Cosmopolitan Civil Societies: An Interdisciplinary Journal*, 8(3), 144–167.

Jakubowicz, A., Collins, J., Reid, C., and Chafic, W. (2014). Minority Youth and Social Transformation in Australia : Identities , Belonging and Cultural Capital. *Social Inclusion*, 2(2), 5–16.

Jakubowicz, A., Dunn, K., Paradies, Y., Mason, G., Bliuc, A.-M., Bahfen, N., Oboler, A., Atie, R., and Connelly, K. (2017). *Cyber Racism and Community Resilience*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Jakubowicz, A., and Ho, C. (2013). The Realities of Australian Multiculturalism. In *For Those Who 've Come Across the Seas* (pp. 3–14).

Jakubowicz, A., and Icduygu, A. (2015). After Gallipoli: Empire, Nation and Diversity in Multicultural Turkey and Australia. In *Reconciling Cultural*

and Political Identities in a Globalized World (pp. 63–90).

Jayasuriya, L. (2002). Understanding Australian Racism. *Australian Universities Review*, 4.

Johns, A., Grossman, M., and McDonald, K. (2014). “ More Than a Game ”: The Impact of Sport -Based Youth Mentoring Schemes on Developing Resilience toward Violent Extremism. *Social Inclusion*, 2(2), 57–70.

Judd, B., and Butcher, T. (2016). Beyond equality : the place of Aboriginal culture in the Australian game of football. *Australian Aboriginal Studies*, 1, 68–84.

Khan, S., and Pedersen, A. (2010). Black African immigrants to Australia: Prejudice and the function of attitudes. *Journal of Pacific Rim Psychology*, 4(2), 116–129. Retrieved from http://journals.cambridge.org/abstract_S1834490900000477

Killalea, D. (2017). *Donald Trump’s Muslim Ban: Why Weren’t These Countries Included*. Retrieved Feb 14, 2017 from www.news.com.au

Klein, A. (2012). Slipping Racism into the Mainstream: A Theory of Information Laundering. *Communication Theory*, 22(4), 427–448. <http://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2885.2012.01415.x>

Klein, A. (2017). *Fanaticism, Racism and Rage Online*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Klocker, N., and Dunn, K. M. (2001). Who’s Driving the Asylum Debate? Newspaper and Government Representations of Asylum Seekers. *Media International Australia*, (109), 71–92.

Kowal, E. (2015). Time, Indigeneity and White Anti-Racism in Australia. *The*

Australian Journal of Anthropology, 26(1), 94–111.
<http://doi.org/10.1111/taja.12122>

Kowal, E., Franklin, H., and Paradies, Y. (2013). Reflexive antiracism: A novel approach to diversity training. *Ethnicities*, 13(3), 316–337.
<http://doi.org/10.1177/1468796812472885>

Kozinets, R. V. (2006). Click to Connect: Netnography and Tribal Advertising. *Journal of Advertising Research*, 46(3), 279.
<http://doi.org/10.2501/S0021849906060338>

Krejci, J. M. (2007). *Allies, Activists, and Advocates: A Dissertation on the Analysis of the Experiences and Processes That Led Thirteen White Men to Anti-racist Work*. University of California.

Lai, C. K. Y. (2010). Narrative and narrative enquiry in health and social sciences. *Nurse Researcher*, 17(3), 72–84.
<http://doi.org/10.7748/nr2010.04.17.3.72.c7748>

Lazer, D., Pentland, A. S., Adamic, L., Aral, S., Barabasi, A. L., Brewer, D., Christakis, N., Contractor, N., Fowler, J., and Gutmann, M. (2009). Life in the Network: The Coming Age of Computational Social Science. *Science*, 323(5915), 72.

Lenhart, A., Ybarra, M., Zickuhr, K., and Price-Feeney, M. (2016). *Online Harassment, Digital Abuse, and Cyberstalking in America*. New York: Data and Society Research Institute, and Center for Innovative Public Health Research. Retrieved Jan 14, 2017 from
https://www.datasociety.net/pubs/oh/Online_Harassment_2016.pdf

Lentin, A. (2005). Replacing ‘race’, historicizing ‘culture’ in multiculturalism. *Patterns of Prejudice*, 39(4), 379–396.
<http://doi.org/10.1080/00313220500347832>

- Lentin, A. (2011). What Happens to Anti-Racism When We Are Post Race? *Feminist Legal Studies*, 19(2), 159–168. <http://doi.org/10.1007/s10691-011-9174-5>
- Love, A., and Hughey, M. W. (2015). Out of bounds ? Racial discourse on college basketball message boards. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 38(6), 877–893. <http://doi.org/10.1080/01419870.2014.967257>
- Markus, A. (2016). *Mapping social cohesion. The Scanlon Foundation surveys 2016*. Retrieved 14 Feb 2017 from <http://www.monash.edu/mapping-population/public-opinion/social-cohesion-report>
- Mason, G., and Czapski, N. (2017). Regulating Cyber-Racism. *Melbourne University Law Review*, 41(1), 1–54.
- Matamoros-fernández, A. (2017). Platformed racism : the mediation and circulation of an Australian race-based controversy on Twitter , Facebook and YouTube. *Information, Communication and Society*, 20(6), 930–946. <http://doi.org/10.1080/1369118X.2017.1293130>
- Mattingly, C. (2008). Reading Minds and Telling Tales in a Cultural Borderland. *Ethos*, 36(1), 136–154. <http://doi.org/10.1111/j.1548-1352.2008.00008.x>
- Mattingly, C., Lutkehaus, N. C., and Throop, C. J. (2008). Bruner’s Search for Meaning: A Conversation between Psychology and Anthropology. *Ethos*, 36(1), 1–28. <http://doi.org/10.1111/j.1548-1352.2008.00001.x>
- McKellar, D. (2016). My Country. Retrieved June 6, 2018, from <http://www.dorotheamackellar.com.au/archive/mycountry.htm>
- Mcwhae, L. E., Paradies, Y., and Pedersen, A. (2015). Bystander antiprejudice on behalf of Muslim Australians : The role of ethnocentrism and

- conformity. *The Australian Community Psychologist*, 27(1), 6–20.
- Mellor, D. (2009). Indigenous and “Settler” Relationships, Eposodic and Strctural Violence. In D. Bretherton and N. Balvin (Eds.), *Peace Psychology in Australia* (pp. 31–54). Springer Science and Business Media. <http://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-4419-0143-9>
- Melbourne Office for the Community Sector. (2013). *Community Collaboration: The Changing Context of Local Government and Community Sector Partnerships* (Report). Melbourne: Department of Health and Human Services. Retrieved 30 June 2016 from http://www.dhs.vic.gov.au/__data/assets/word_doc/0005/832172/Community-collaboration-e-changing-context-of-local-government-and-community-sector-partnerships-1-July-2013.doc
- Miller, D. (2011). *Tales from Facebook*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Miller, D., Costa, E., Haynes, N., McDonald, T., Nicolescu, R., Sinanan, J., Spyer, J., Venkatraman, S., and Wang, X. (2016). *How the World Changed Social Media*. London: UCL Press.
- Mitchell, J., Kaplan, I., and Crowe, L. (2007). Two cultures: One life. *Community Development Journal*, 42(3), 282–298. <http://doi.org/10.1093/cdj/bsl016>
- Mohammad, S. M., and Kiritchenko, S. (2015). Using hashtags to capture fine emotion categories from tweets. *Computational Intelligence*, 31(2), 301–326. <http://doi.org/10.1111/coin.12024>
- Mullings, L. (2005). Interrogating racism: Toward an antiracist anthropology. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 34, 667–693. <http://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.anthro>

- NADC. (2017). About Our National Day. Retrieved Feb 10, 2017 from <http://www.australiaday.org.au/australia-day/about-our-national-day/>
- Nakamura, L., and Chow-White, P. A. (2012). Race After the Internet. In L. Nakamura and P. A. Chow-White (Eds.), . London: Routledge.
- Nelson, J., Dunn, K., and Paradies, Y. (2011). Australian racism and anti-racism: links to morbidity and belonging. In F. Mansouri and M. Lobo (Eds.), *Migration, Citizenship and Intercultural Relations: Looking Through the Lens of Social Inclusion?* (pp. 159–176). Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate.
- Nelson, J. K. (2012). *Politics and Practice of Local Anti-Racism: The Need to 'Speak' Racism. School of Social Sciences*. University of Western Sydney, Sydney.
- Nelson, J. K. (2013). Denial of racism and its implications for local action. *Discourse and Society*, 24(1), 89–109
<http://doi.org/10.1177/0957926512463635>
- Nelson, J. K. (2015). 'Speaking' racism and anti-racism: Perspectives of local anti-racism actors. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 38(2), 342–358.
<http://doi.org/10.1080/01419870.2014.889837>
- Nelson, J. K., Dunn, K. M., and Paradies, Y. (2011). Bystander Anti-Racism: A Review of the Literature. *Analyses of Social Issues and Public Policy*, 11(1), 263–284. <http://doi.org/10.1111/j.1530-2415.2011.01274.x>
- Neto, Y. F., and Pedersen, A. (2013). No Time Like The Present: Determinants Of Intentions To Engage In Bystander Anti-Racism On Behalf Of Indigenous Australians. *Journal of Pacific Rim Psychology*, 7(01), 36–49.
<http://doi.org/10.1017/prp.2013.4>

- Niemonen, J. (2010). Public sociology or partisan sociology? The curious case of whiteness studies. *American Sociologist*, 41(1), 48–81.
<http://doi.org/10.1007/s12108-010-9086-x>
- Nissim, R. (2014). Building resilience in the face of racism : options for anti-racism strategies. *Sydney Social Justice Network*, (October 2014), 1–24.
- Noble, G. (2009). *Lines in the Sand: The Cronulla Riots, Multiculturalism and National Belonging*. Sydney: Institute of Criminology Press.
- Nolan, D., Burgin, A., Farquharson, K., and Marjoribanks, T. (2016). Media and the politics of belonging: Sudanese Australians, letters to the editor and the new integrationism. *Patterns of Prejudice*.
<http://doi.org/10.1080/0031322X.2016.1207925>
- Oboler, A. (2012). Aboriginal Memes and Online Hate. Online Hate Prevention Institute. Retrieved Feb 11, 2017 from
<http://ohpi.org.au/reports/IR12-2-Aboriginal-Memes.pdf>
- Oboler, A. (2013). *Islamophobia on the Internet: The Growth of Online Hate Targeting Muslims*. Online Hate Prevention Institute, Melbourne.
- Oboler, A. (2015). *Spotlight on Anti-Muslim Internet Hate - Interim Report*. Retrieved from <http://ohpi.org.au/anti-muslim-hate-interim-report/>
- Oboler, A. (2016a). The Normalisation of Islamophobia through Social Media: Facebook. In I. Awan (Ed.), *Islamophobia in Cyberspace* (pp. 41–62). London: Routledge
- Oboler, A. (2016b). *Measuring the Hate -The State of Antisemitism in Social Media*. Retrieved from <http://ohpi.org.au/measuring-antisemitism/>
- Oboler, A., and Connelly, K. (2014). Hate Speech : a Quality of Service

Challenge. In *IEEE Conference on e-Learning, e-mamagement and e-Services* (pp. 117–121). Melbourne

Oboler, A., and Connelly, K. (2018). Building SMARTER Communities of Resistance an Solidarity. *Cosmopolitan Civil Societies Journal*, 10 (2), 41–54

OHPI. (2012). How to Guides. Retrieved June 6, 2018, from <http://ohpi.org.au/how-to-guides/>

OHPI. (2015a). Launch of Spotlight on Anti-Muslim Internet Hate Campaign. Retrieved Feb 10, 2017 from <http://ohpi.org.au/launch-of-spotlight-on-anti-muslim-internet-hate-campaign/>

OHPI. (2015b). Victorian Government Supports SAMIH. Retrieved Feb 9, 2017 from <http://ohpi.org.au/victorian-government-supports-samih/>

OHPI. (2015c). Presentation in the UN (New York). Retrieved Feb 9, 2017 from <http://ohpi.org.au/unaoc/>

OHPI. (2016a). Annual Report 2016-Briefings. Retrieved Feb 9, 2017 from <http://ohpi.org.au/annual-report-2016-briefings/>

OHPI. (2016b). Unity in Diversity on Australia Day. Retrieved Feb 9, 2017 from <http://ohpi.org.au/unity-in-diversity-on-australia-day/>

OHPI. (2016c). Racist Groups Use Australia Day to Promote Bigotry. Retrieved Feb 9, 2017 from <http://ohpi.org.au/racist-groups-use-australia-day-to-promote-bigotry/>

OHPI. (2016d). The Different Meanings of Australia Day. Retrieved Feb 9, 2017 from <http://ohpi.org.au/the-different-meanings-of-australia-day/>

OHPI. (2016e). Facebook launches a campaign aganst hate speech in Europe.

Retrieved Feb 9, 2017 from <http://ohpi.org.au/facebook-launches-a-campaign-against-hate-speech-in-europe/>

OHPI. (2016f). Update on AFL Memes. Retrieved July 5, 2017, from <http://ohpi.org.au/update-on-afl-memes/>

Onyx, J., Ho, C., and Edwards, M. (2011). Scaling Up Connections: Everyday Cosmopolitanism, Complexity Theory and Social Capital. *Cosmopolitan Civil Societies Journal*, 3(3), 47–68. Retrieved from <http://epress.lib.uts.edu.au/ojs/index.php/mcs/article/viewArticle/2180>

Ostrove, J. M., and Brown, K. T. (2018). Are allies who we think they are?: A comparative analysis. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, 48(4), 195–204. <http://doi.org/10.1111/jasp.12502>

Oxford Dictionaries. (2017). Online Community. Retrieved Feb 9, 2017 from <https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/onlinecommunity>

Paradies, Y. (2005). Anti-Racism and Indigenous Australians. *Analyses of Social Issues and Public Policy*, 5(1), 1–28. <http://doi.org/10.1111/j.1530-2415.2005.00053.x>

Paradies, Y. (2006a). A systematic review of empirical research on self-reported racism and health. *International Journal of Epidemiology*, 35(4), 888–901. <http://doi.org/10.1093/ije/dyl056>

Paradies, Y. (2006b). Beyond Black and White Essentialism, hybridity and Indigeneity. *The Australian Sociological Association*, 42(4), 355–367. [http://doi.org/10.1016/S0049-089X\(03\)00056-5](http://doi.org/10.1016/S0049-089X(03)00056-5)

Paradies, Y. (2006c). Defining, conceptualizing and characterizing racism in health research. *Critical Public Health*, 16(2), 143–157. <http://doi.org/10.1080/09581590600828881>

- Paradies, Y. (2016a). Colonisation, racism and indigenous health. *Journal of Population Research*, 33(1), 83–96. <http://doi.org/10.1007/s12546-016-9159-y>
- Paradies, Y. (2016b). Whither anti-racism ? *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 39(1), 1–15.
- Paradies, Y. (2018). Whither Standpoint Theory in a Post-Truth World ? *Cosmopolitan Civil Societies Journal*, 10(2).
- Paradies, Y., Ben, J., Denson, N., Elias, A., Priest, N., Pieterse, A., Gupta A., Kelaher, M., and Gee, G. (2015). Racism as a Determinant of Health : A Systematic Review and Meta-Analysis. *PLoS ONE*, 1–48. <http://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0138511>
- Paradies, Y., Chandrakumar, L., Klocker, N., Frere, M., Webster, K., Burrell, M., and McLean, P. (2009). *Building on our strengths: a Framework to Reduce Race Based Discrimination and Support Diversity in Victoria. Full Report*. Melbourne: Victorian Health Promotion Foundation.
- Paradies, Y., and Cunningham, J. (2012a). The DRUID study: Exploring mediating pathways between racism and depressive symptoms among Indigenous Australians. *Social Psychiatry and Psychiatric Epidemiology*, 47, 165–173.
- Paradies, Y., and Cunningham, J. (2012b). The DRUID study: racism and self-assessed health status in an indigenous population. *BMC Public Health*, 12(131), 1–12.
- Paradies, Y., Forrest, J., Dunn, K., Pedersen, A., Webster, K., and Mansouri, F. (2009). More than Tolerance: Racism and the Health of Young Australians. In *Youth Identity and Migration: Culture, Values and Social Connectedness* (pp. 207–226). Altona, Victoria.: Common Ground

Publishing.

- Pedersen, A., Aly, A., Hartley, L., and McGarty, C. (2009). An Intervention to Increase Positive Attitudes and Address Misconceptions About Australian Muslims: A Call for Education and Open Mindedness. *The Australian Community Psychologist*, 21(2), 81–93.
- Pedersen, A., Dunn, K., Forrest, J., and McGarty, C. (2012). Prejudice and Discrimination From Two Sides: How Do Middle-Eastern Australians Experience It and How Do Other Australians Explain It? *Journal of Pacific Rim Psychology*, 6(01), 18–26. <http://doi.org/10.1017/prp.2012.3>
- Pedersen, A., Griffiths, B., and Watt, S. (2008). Attitudes toward Out-groups and the perception of consensus: All feet do not wear one shoe. *Journal of Community and Applied Social Psychology*, 18, 543–557. <http://doi.org/10.1002/casp>
- Pedersen, A., and Hartley, L. (2011). Prejudice against Muslim Australians: The role of values, gender and consensus. *Journal of Community and Applied Social Psychology*, (June). <http://doi.org/10.1002/casp>
- Pedersen, A., and Hartley, L. K. (2017). False Beliefs About Asylum Seekers to Australia : The Role of Confidence in Such Beliefs , Prejudice , and the Third Person Effect. *Journal of Pacific Rim Psychology*, 11(5), 1–12. <http://doi.org/10.1017/prp.2017.5>
- Pedersen, A., Paradies, Y., Hartley, L. K., and Dunn, K. M. (2009). Bystander Antiprejudice : Cross-Cultural Education , Links With Positivity Towards Cultural ‘ Outgroups ’ and Preparedness to Speak Out. *Journal of Pacific Rim Psychology*, 5(1), 19–30.
- Pedersen, A., Walker, I., Paradies, Y., and Guerin, B. (2011). How to Cook Rice: A Review of Ingredients for Teaching anti-Prejudice. *Australian*

Psychologist, 46(1), 55–63. <http://doi.org/10.1111/j.1742-9544.2010.00015.x>

Pedersen, A., Walker, I., and Wise, M. (2005). “Talk does not cook rice”: Beyond anti-racism rhetoric to strategies for social action. *Australian Psychologist*, 40(1), 20–30. Retrieved from <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/0005006051233131729>

Pennay, D., and Paradies, Y. (2011). *A survey of pro-social community knowledge, attitudes and behaviour with respect to race-based discrimination, 2011: A full technical report. The Social Research Centre, Melbourne*. Melbourne: VicHealth.

Perera, S. (2005). Who Will I Become? The Multiple Formations of Australian Whiteness. *Australian Critical Race and Whiteness Studies Association Journal*, 1, 30–39. <http://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781107415324.004>

Perry, B., and Olsson, P. (2009). Cyberhate: The Globalization of Hate. *Information and Communications Technology Law*, 18, 185–199.

Petray, T. L. (2013). Self-writing a movement and contesting indigeneity: Being an Aboriginal activist on social media. *Social Media Journal - Australian Edition*, 7(1).

Pfefferbaum, B., Pfefferbaum, R. L., and Van Horn, R. L. (2015). Community Resilience Interventions: Participatory, Assessment-Based, Action-Oriented Processes. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 59(2), 238–253. <http://doi.org/10.1177/0002764214550298>

Phillips, G. (2011). Reporting diversity: The representation of ethnic minorities in Australia’s television current affairs Programs. *Media International Australia*, 139, 23–31.

- Pierce, C., Carew, J., Pierce-Gonzalez, D., and Wills, D. (1978). An Experiment in Racism: TV Commercials. *Education and Urban Society*, 10 (1), 61–87.
- Pink, S., and Morgan, J. (2013). Short-Term Ethnography : Intense Routes to Knowing. *Symbolic Interaction*, 1–18.
- Pollack, I. R. (2015). *World Trends in Freedom of Expression and Media Development: Special Digital Focus 2015*. Paris: UNESCO.
- Priest, N. C., Paradies, Y. C., Gunthorpe, W., Cairney, S. J., and Sayers, S. M. (2011). Racism as a determinant of social and emotional wellbeing for Australian Aboriginal Youth. *Medical Journal of Australia*, 194(10), 546–550.
- Priest, N., King, T., Bécaries, L., and Kavanagh, A. M. (2016). Bullying Victimization and Racial Discrimination Among Australian Children. *Research and Practice*, 1–3. <http://doi.org/10.2105/AJPH.2016.303328>
- Priest, N., Paradies, Y., Stevens, M., and Bailie, R. (2012). Exploring relationships between racism, housing and child illness in remote indigenous communities. *Journal of Epidemiology and Community Health*, 66(5), 440–7. <http://doi.org/10.1136/jech.2010.117366>
- Priest, N., Paradies, Y., Stewart, P., and Luke, J. (2011). Racism and health among urban Aboriginal young people. *BMC Public Health*, 11(568).
- Priest, N., Paradies, Y., Trenerry, B., Truong, M., Karlsen, S., and Kelly, Y. (2013). A systematic review of studies examining the relationship between reported racism and health and wellbeing for children and young people. *Social Science and Medicine* (1982), 95, 115–27. <http://doi.org/10.1016/j.socscimed.2012.11.031>

- Priest, N., Perry, R., Ferdinand, A., and Kelaher, M. (2014). Experiences of Racism, Racial/Ethnic Attitudes, Motivated Fairness and Mental Health Outcomes Among Primary and Secondary School Students. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, 43(10).
- Rice, E. S., Haynes, E., Royce, P., and Thompson, S. C. (2016). Social media and digital technology use among Indigenous young people in Australia: a literature review. *International Journal for Equity in Health*, 15(1), 81. <http://doi.org/10.1186/s12939-016-0366-0>
- Reicher, S., and Hopkins, N. (2000). *Self and Nation*. London: Sage.
- Riessman, C. K. (2005). Narrative Analysis. In *Narrative, Memory and Everyday Life* (pp. 1–8). Huddersfeild: University of Huddersfeild Press.
- Rodgers, K., and Scobie, W. (2015). Sealfies, seals and celebs: expressions of Inuit resilience in the Twitter era. *Interface: A Journal on Social Movements*, 7(1), 70–97.
- Roth, P. (2014). New Tool to Fight Online Hate. The Australian Jewish News. Retrieved Feb 9, 2017 from <https://www.jewishnews.net.au/new-tool-to-fight-online-hate/38909>
- Salleh-Hoddin, A., and Pedersen, A. (2012). Experiences of Discrimination by Muslim Australians and Protective Factors for Integration. *Australian Community Psychologist*, 24(2), 43–58.
- Salter, F. (2012). The War Against Human Nature III. Retrieved February 14, 2017, from <http://quadrant.org.au/magazine/2012/11/the-war-against-human-nature-iii/>
- Scalise, G. (2015). The Narrative Construction of European Identity. Meanings of Europe ‘from below.’ *European Societies*, 17(4), 593–614.

<http://doi.org/10.1080/14616696.2015.1072227>

- Schuetz, S. C. (2011). *Narratives of Resilience: Stories of Refugees from Darfur, Sudan Resettling in Australia*. La Trobe University.
- Secretary's Advisory Committee on Human Research Protections. (2013). *Considerations and Recommendations Concerning Internet Research and Human Subjects Research Regulations, with Revisions*. Rockville. Retrieved from <http://www.hhs.gov/ohrp/sachrp-committee/recommendations/sachrp-recommendations/index.html>
- Shaver, J. H., Sibley, C. G., Osborne, D., and Bulbulia, J. (2017). News exposure predicts anti-Muslim prejudice. *PLoS ONE*, 12(3), 1–19. <http://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0174606>
- Skrbis, Z., Kendall, G., and Woodward, I. (2004). Locating Cosmopolitanism: Between Humanist Ideal and Grounded Social Category. *Theory, Culture and Society*, 21(6), 115–136. <http://doi.org/10.1177/0263276404047418>
- Solorzano, D. (2000). Critical Race Theory, Racial Microaggressions, and Campus Racial Climate: The Experiences of African American College Students. *Journal of Negro Education*, 69, 60–73.
- Statista. (2015). Number of Active Twitter Users in the United States by Gender. Retrieved August 23, 2015, from <https://www.statista.com/statistics/238715/number-of-active-twitter-users-in-the-united-states-by-gender/>
- Statista. (2017). Number of social media users worldwide from 2010 to 2020 (in billions). Retrieved July 1, 2018, from <https://www.statista.com/statistics/278414/number-of-worldwide-social-network-users/>

- Stratton, J., (1998) *Race Daze*, Annandale: Pluto Press
- Strike Force Neil. (2006). *Cronulla riots: review of the police response: Vol 1. Report and recommendations*. Sydney.
- Sue, D. W. (2007). Racial Microaggressions in Everyday Life: Implications for Clinical Practice. *American Psychologist*, 271, 62.
- Sue, D. W. (2017). Microaggressions and “Evidence” Empirical or Experiential Reality? *Perspectives on Psychological Science*, 12(1), 170–172.
- Sue, D., Capodilupo, C., Nadal, K., and Torino, G. (2008). Racial Microaggressions and the Power to Define Reality. *American Psychologist*, 63(4), 277–279.
- The Big Smoke. (2015). Spotlight on Antisemitism—Illuminating the Nature of Hate. <http://thebigsmoke.com.au/2015/03/31/spotlight-antisemitism-illuminating-nature-hate/>. Retrieved 9 Feb 2017
- The Guardian. (2018) <https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2018/oct/16/australian-senators-inadvertently-back-far-right-motion-saying-its-ok-to-be-white> Retrieved May 28, 2019
- The New York Times. (2016). Europe Presses American Tech Companies to Tackle Hate Speech. Retrieved Feb 9, 2017 from http://www.nytimes.com/2016/12/06/technology/europe-hate-speech-facebook-google-twitter.html?_r=0
- The Weekly. (2015). Adam Goodes Controversy. Retrieved June 13, 2018, from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vYdY1UmWzAM>
- Trenerry, B. M. (2016). *Productive disruptions? : responding to racism and*

diversity in the workplace through anti-racism practice within local government in Australia. University of Western Sydney.

Twitter. (2017a). All Together Now. Retrieved Feb 10, 2017 from <https://twitter.com/alltognow>

Twitter. (2017b). Racism. It Stops with Me. Retrieved Feb 10, 2017 from <https://twitter.com/itstopswithme>

Twitter. (2017c). FECCA. Retrieved Feb 9, 2017 from <https://twitter.com/ifecca>

Victorian Auditor-General's Office. (2015). Public Participation in Government Decision-making: Better Practice Guide (Report). Melbourne: Victorian Auditor- General's Office. Retrieved Feb 14, 2017 from <http://www.audit.vic.gov.au/publications/20150130-Public-Participation-BPG/20150130-Public-Participation-BPG.pdf>

Twitter Inc. (2018). Twitter Rules. Retrieved April 20, 2018, from <https://help.twitter.com/en/rules-and-policies/twitter-rules>

Tynes, B. M. (2007). Role taking in online "classrooms": what adolescents are learning about race and ethnicity. *Developmental Psychology*, 43(6), 1312–20. <http://doi.org/10.1037/0012-1649.43.6.1312>

Tynes, B. M., Giang, M. T., Williams, D. R., and Thompson, G. N. (2008). Online racial discrimination and psychological adjustment among adolescents. *The Journal of Adolescent Health : Official Publication of the Society for Adolescent Medicine*, 43(6), 565–9. <http://doi.org/10.1016/j.jadohealth.2008.08.021>

- Tynes, B. M., and Markoe, S. L. (2010). The role of color-blind racial attitudes in reactions to racial discrimination on social network sites. *Journal of Diversity in Higher Education*, 3(1), 1–13.
<http://doi.org/10.1037/a0018683>
- Tynes, B. M., Rose, C. a., and Markoe, S. L. (2013). Extending campus life to the Internet: Social media, discrimination, and perceptions of racial climate. *Journal of Diversity in Higher Education*, 6(2), 102–114.
<http://doi.org/10.1037/a0033267>
- Van Dijck, J. (2013). Facebook and the Imperative of Sharing. In *The Culture of Connectivity* (pp. 45–67). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
<http://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199970773.003.0003>
- Vertovec, S. (2011). The Cultural Politics of Nation and Migration. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 40(1), 241–256. <http://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-anthro-081309-145837>
- Victorian Health Promotion Foundation. (2009). *Building on our strengths: a framework to reduce race-based discrimination and support diversity in Victoria*. Melbourne, Vic: Victorian Health Promotion Foundation.
- Voyer, A. (2013). Notes on a cultural sociology of immigrant incorporation. *American Journal of Cultural Sociology*, 1(1), 26–41.
<http://doi.org/10.1057/ajcs.2012.5>
- Waller, L., Dreher, T., and McCallum, K. (2015). The Listening Key: Unlocking the Democratic Potential of Indigenous Participatory Media. *Media International Australia*, (154), 57–66.
- Waller, L., Hess, K., and Demetrious, K. (2016). Twitter feeders : an analysis of dominant ‘ voices ’ and patterns in a local government mosque controversy. *Australian Journalism Review*, 38(2), 47–60.

- Wallwork, J., and Dixon, J. A. (2004). Foxes, Green Fields and Britishness: On the Rhetorical Construction of Place and National Identity. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, 43(1), 21–39
- Walton, J., Priest, N., Kowal, E., Brickwood, K., Fox, B., White, F., and Paradies, Y. (2014). Talking culture? Egalitarianism, color-blindness and racism in Australian elementary schools. *Teaching and Teacher Education*, 39, 112–122.
- Walton, J., Priest, N., and Paradies, Y. (2013). “It Depends How You’re Saying It”: The Complexities of Everyday Racism. *International Journal of Conflict and Violence*, 7(1), 1–16.
- Ward, T. (2015). Female Fans are AFL’s Secret Weapon in Drawing Crowds. Retrieved August 25, 2015, from <https://theconversation.com/female-fans-are-afls-secret-weapon-in-drawing-crowds-41173>
- Weaver, S. (2010). Developing a Rhetorical Analysis of Racist Humour: Examining Anti-Black Jokes on the Internet. *Social Semiotics*, 20, 537–555
- Weaver, S. (2011). Jokes, Rhetoric and Embodied Racism: A Rhetorical Discourse Analysis of the Logics of Racist Jokes on the Internet. *Ethnicities*, 11, 413–435.
- Welcome to Australia. (2018a). Welcome to Australia. Retrieved June 28, 2018, from <https://www.facebook.com/welcometoaustralia/>
- Welcome to Australia. (2018b). Welcome to Australia. Retrieved June 28, 2018, from <https://www.welcometoaustralia.org.au/>
- Weller, K., Bruns, A., Burgess, J., Mahrt, M., and Puschmann, C. (2014). Twitter and Society. In P. Lang (Ed.), *Digital Formations*. New York.

- Werbner, P. (2008). *Anthropology and the New Cosmopolitanism*. (P. Werbner, 1st Ed.). New York: Berg Publishers.
- Williams, D., and Collins, C. (1995). US Socioeconomic and Racial Differences in Health: Patterns and Explanations. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 21(1), 349–386.
- Williams, D. R., and Wyatt, R. (2015). Racial Bias in Health Care and Health: Challenges and Opportunities. *JAMA*, 314(6), 555–556.
- Wilson, S. M., and Peterson, L. C. (2002). The Anthropology of Online Communities. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 31(1), 449–467.
<http://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.anthro.31.040402.085436>
- Windley, M. (2013). Adam Goodes “gutted” after 13-year-old girl’s racial slur, who called the Sydney champion today to apologise. Retrieved June 13, 2018, from <https://www.heraldsun.com.au/sport/afl/adam-goodes-gutted-after-13-year-old-girls-racial-slur-who-called-the-sydney-champion-today-to-apologise/news-story/721d2aad6ca7d0f8e3529854acc8e920>
- Wise, A., and Velayutham, S., (2009), *Everyday Multiculturalism*, Basingstoke:Palgrave Macmillan
- Young, T. (2016). Twitter remains a paradox in Australia – numbers down but usage explodes. Retrieved April 16, 2018, from <https://www.prwarrior.com/2016/06/twitter-statistics-sensis-social-media-report-2016/>
- Youtube. (2017). IndigenousX. Retrieved Feb 10, 2017 from <https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCTK6oqOtAgPONFsdVyf6fDw>
- Ziersch, A., Gallaher, G., Baum, F., and Bentley, M. (2011). Racism, Social Resources and Mental Health for Aboriginal People Living in Adelaide.

Australian and New Zealand Journal of Public Health, 35(3), 231–37.
